

9


Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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9









"So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. . . .the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being."

Indira Gandhi



**Selected  
works of  
Jawaharlal  
Nehru**



9 JANUARY 1949

# **Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru**

**Second Series**

**Volume Nine**

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S. Gopal



## FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggle, both within himself and with the

outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interest in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

*Indira Gandhi.*

New Delhi  
18 January 1972

Chairman  
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund



## EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume covers a crucial period of eight weeks from 20 December 1948 to 15 February 1949, during which nation-building was Nehru's major concern. Recasting the finances, setting up new industries, inculcating a scientific outlook, promoting self-sufficiency in food and suggesting changes in the food habits of people absorbed much of his attention. These went along with a general concern for educational and cultural advancement and keen interest in the development of languages.

By convening the Delhi Conference in support of Indonesia's struggle for independence from the Dutch, Nehru initiated Asian attempts at dealing with Asian problems, hitherto left with the Western Powers as "fringe" issues. Simultaneously, Nehru was engaged in securing India's entry into the Commonwealth as a republic and on terms of equality with other nations. In bilateral relations, his efforts were directed to strengthening friendship and raising India's standing in the world.

We are grateful to the Nehru Memorial Library for giving us access to the relevant papers of Jawaharlal Nehru. A large number of documents and letters belonging to Shrimati Indira Gandhi have also been included in this volume and indicated in the footnotes as belonging to the J.N. Collection. Notes, letters and writings from the Secretariats of the President, the Prime Minister and the Cabinet, as well as from various Ministries and the National Archives, have been reproduced here with permission.

A reproduction of Nehru's preface to Madanjeet Singh's book, *This My People*, has also been added to this volume along with its holograph.

The biographical footnotes used in the previous volumes have not been repeated here, but references to these are available in the index.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.C.C.	All India Congress Committee
A.I.R.	All India Radio
B.B.C.	British Broadcasting Corporation
C.A.	Constituent Assembly
C.P.	Central Provinces
G.H.Q.	General Headquarters
G.G.	Governor General
H.M.G.	His Majesty's Government
H.P.M.	Honourable Prime Minister
I.C.S.	Indian Civil Service
I.L.O.	International Labour Organisation
I.S.T.	Indian Standard Time
M.E.A. & C.R.	Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations
M.H.A.	Ministry of Home Affairs
M.L.A.	Member of Legislative Assembly
M.P.	Member of Parliament
N.A.I.	National Archives of India
N.M.M.L.	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
N.W.F.P.	North West Frontier Province
P.C.C.	Provincial Congress Committee
P.E.P.S.U.	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
P.M.S.	Prime Minister's Secretariat
R.I.A.F.	Royal Indian Air Force
R.S.S.	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
U.N.C.I.P.	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
U.N.E.C.A.F.E.	United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East
U.N.O.	United Nations Organisation
U.P.	United Provinces
U.P.P.C.C.	United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee



1  
BUILDING NEW INDIA  
I. General Perspectives





## 1. Training for Constructive Work<sup>1</sup>

I congratulate the volunteers and their G.O.C. Mr. Jai Narayan Vyas<sup>2</sup> for the work done by them during the Session. It is a matter of great pleasure for me to see young boys and girls go about their work in a disciplined and orderly manner. They are the architects of the new India and the sense of duty which I see among them gives me hope for the future.

There are two types of work, superior and inferior. One might tend to attach greater importance to the former, but one must realize that in the final analysis what matters most is how the smaller or the inferior type of work is done. Of course, everyone wants to be able to do big things but for building a nation smaller things cannot be neglected. One should start by doing small things and then after gaining sufficient experience should go on to bigger and more important tasks.

In the political field the impression has gained ground that the one who can deliver long speeches is a real leader. This is wrong. What is required to make a real leader is a period of hard training in constructive work.

1. Speech to Congress volunteers and Desh Sevikas, Gandhinagar, 20 December 1948. From *The Hindustan Times*, 21 December 1948.
2. At this time the Prime Minister of Jodhpur.

## 2. Build Up Tomorrow's India<sup>1</sup>

All of us talk of India and all of us demand many things from India. What do we give to her in return? India will be what we are; our thoughts and actions will shape her. Born of her fruitful womb, we are children of hers, little bits of the India of today, and yet we are also the parents of the India of tomorrow. If we are big, so will India be. And if we grow little-minded and narrow in outlook, so also will India be.

1. This undated message was printed in *One Year of Freedom* edited by N.V. Rajkumar, (New Delhi, 1949), and *National Herald*, 5 January 1949.

So let us be rid of everything that limits us and degrades us. Let us cast out fears and communalism and provincialism. Let us build up a free and democratic India, where the interest of the masses of our people has always the first place to which all other interests must submit. Freedom has no meaning unless it brings relief to these masses from their many burdens.

All the world suffers from the after-effects of the World War and inflation and rising prices and unemployment oppress the people. In India we have all these and, in addition, the care of vast numbers of our brothers and sisters who have suffered untold hardships and have been driven away from their homes to seek a new life elsewhere. It is this war we have to fight, the war against economic crisis and to rehabilitate the disinherited. In this war there is no hatred or violence but only service of our people. In this war, every Indian can be a soldier. This is no time for individuals or groups to think of a narrow self-interest forgetting the larger good. This is no time for wrangling or the spirit of faction.

And so I appeal to all my countrymen and countrywomen, who have the love of India in their hearts and the passion to raise her masses, to cast aside the barriers that separate them and to join together in this historic and magnificent task worthy of a great people.

### 3. Working for the Common Objective<sup>1</sup>

Friends and Comrades,

I have come back to Calcutta after a long interval. So much has happened during these many months; so much sorrow has come to us and also so much achievement. Even today, we are facing great problems which affect the country as a whole and millions of our people.

I have come to Calcutta after many months but Calcutta and West Bengal stayed uppermost in our minds. Calcutta, because it is, and is likely to remain, the greatest city of India; West Bengal, because, apart from its many other points of importance, it has become a frontier province of India. We must always remember that we have to live up to that position. So do not think that we have forgotten the problems that we have to face, because they are common problems.

1. Broadcast from Calcutta Station of All India Radio, 14 January 1949. From *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 15 January 1949.



But I want you to think today, during these minutes I have, in broader terms. You know that in spite of our difficulties and problems India has advanced very greatly during the last one and a half years in the field of international affairs and Asian affairs. Even today, the great ceremony that took place in the morning<sup>2</sup> was an international ceremony much more than a national one and people of many parts of Asia came here with their messages of goodwill and their homage to the great one that India produced two thousand five hundred years ago. India has been in the past a great reconciler and a great synthesizer. India, situated as she is, and producing great sages and great men, generation after generation, has influenced other countries and has been influenced herself.

The east of Asia, the south-east of Asia, bear the powerful impress of India and they have themselves influenced Asia. Western Asia also bears the tremendous impress of India and herself has influenced India. So here we have received these currents and we have also sent out powerful cultural currents to the rest of Asia and beyond. Here in India we have synthesized these various forces and tried to reconcile them. Here even in our day came Gandhiji, the great healer who, by his magic touch, healed so many of our wounds. How far are we worthy of these great men whom we celebrate, whom we praise? That is the question before us. How far are we living upto the great reputation that India has built up and is likely to build? Our potentialities are even greater today. So let us think in big terms and not be frightened by the problems of the day however serious they may appear to be.

Let us think in terms of historical perspective, for India's history is a history of thousands of years of ups and downs and greatness. If we think in these terms, the evils and difficulties of today become small and all that we can see is a great nation marching along her predestined path, not of military glory, not according to the modern test of greatness in battle and the like, but rather to that of greatness of spirit, greatness in adventure, greatness in wellbeing and greatness of thought.

Of course, India must be strong to defend her freedom, for the weak have no place in the world today. If we are going to be strong, let us think in terms of the greatness that Buddha preached, that Gandhiji preached. That has been the eternal message of India. If we fall away from that, we will fall between two stools; we will not have our own greatness nor will we get the greatness of others. That is the problem before us. I am sure, India has to and must go the way of these great men.

We had conflicts and quarrels in the past year, serious and terrible conflicts. At the same time, we have also survived them and we have shown

2. Handing over of the relics of the Buddha to the Mahabodhi Society, Calcutta. See section, 1 sub-section VII, p. 102.

how we can face the most dangerous situation. Even in the last two months there has been great improvement and I hope this improvement will continue and the relations between India and Pakistan will improve. There will be cooperation and friendship between these two countries. And all those ills that have happened will appear to be bad dreams.

In Bengal specially we shall have a spirit of cooperation and friendship. Bengal is, and I do believe it is, the most creative of our provinces. Bengal is rich provided this sense of conflict disappears from the minds of Bengal. The time has come for that to go. Let us—Bengal and the rest of India—work together for India's great adventure, that is, the building up of free India. It is being built apace. Let us work hard and see the results emerging before us from day to day, from month to month. We shall have to serve this great land to which we have the privilege to belong.

Bengal has produced great sons. Without mentioning the great men of the past I like to refer to great men with whom I had the privilege to work together—particularly Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Deshapriya Jatindra Mohan and Netaji Subhas. Netaji's greatest contribution is the example he set as to how to unify men of different faiths, communities and places under a common ideal and work for a common objective. *Jai Hind*.

#### 4. Remembrance Day<sup>1</sup>

This day, the 26th of January, has become a sort of memorial day for us—memorial not merely of that day 19 years ago when we celebrated it for the first time in India<sup>2</sup> but of all the events which happened thereafter, the ups and downs, our successes and failures, what we could achieve and what we failed to do; and, above all, a memorial to all our colleagues who took part in our freedom struggle and sacrificed a great deal, some of them even their lives. It is proper that we look back, not only today but often, at the past happenings and think about whatever happened and learn something from it because, after all, whatever a man does he does so after learning from his past experiences. We learn from our own experience as well

1. Speech at Ramlila Grounds, New Delhi, 26 January 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi).
2. On 26 January 1930 the people of India took for the first time the Independence Pledge.



as from the experience of the nation which is recorded in history books. Ancient countries have at their back the experience of hundreds and thousands of years which is imbued in their very being, and because they learn from this, they become tolerant and develop self-control. On the other hand, new people, new nations are, in a way like children who have less experience and talk in an excited manner, sometimes losing their temper and sometimes laughing.

So, this day is for remembrance. As I said to you, it is a good thing for us to pause sometimes in the bustle and difficulties of our daily lives and think about the past. I do not mean that we benefit merely by thinking about the past or that we should consume all the time in such thoughts, but we should learn something from it in order to be better prepared for the future. We have to have a proper balance between the two. Those who look too much at the past and do not look ahead cannot make progress for, after all, you should look in the direction in which you want to go and your steps should follow suit. If you keep turning your heads back, it becomes difficult to go ahead. But, at the same time, if you forget the path that you have travelled on, you will always be on a new path and thus you can not benefit from the past experience. Therefore a nation has to do both; to remember the past and derive strength from it, and to look ahead and move forward.

Well, a great many things happened in the last 19 years and the last year and a half have been full of events, good and bad. You are well aware of the tremendous and frightening problems which arose in the country in the last one and a half years. A country could go under in the face of such great odds. How we solved those problems or at least made an effort to solve them is a question that perhaps you and I cannot answer. It will be answered by history. It is obvious that we made mistakes, often stumbled and fell, but we picked ourselves up again and went on ultimately. An individual or a nation cannot always be judged by how far he or it is able to take right steps, though it is a good thing to do so. After all, everyone, nations, governments, and individuals, make mistakes. But the important thing is the capacity to correct one's mistakes and pick oneself up after a fall and go on. A nation which has this capacity is not hurt much even if it falls, because it rises again. The greatest lesson taught by Mahatma Gandhi was that we can always get up and go on even if we stumble and fall several times. Therefore so many times the world and the British Government thought they had suppressed the identity and nationalism of India and crushed it; but immediately thereafter a new strength or an old strength in a new garb came. What does it mean except this that the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi was a sound one and if we follow it any amount of pressure cannot crush our hearts. There is another meaning, that there is a

strength, or whatever you may call it, in India, which cannot easily be crushed by any amount of difficulties. If there is such a strength in any country, then it is obvious that that country will progress, and even if it makes mistakes, it can rectify them. If a country is lifeless, then even with the best of its leaders who may adopt any tactics and try to be clever, it cannot go very far. Therefore, the question arises whether an individual or a nation or a race has life or not. In my opinion, whoever looks at India at present is bound to feel that in spite of our numerous shortcomings and difficulties, we are full of life and are a growing nation, going ahead very fast and gradually trying to solve our great problems. In the past, the greatest problem before us was to get independence. However, there are several meanings and aspects of freedom.

The first problem was to get political freedom and remove the British rule from India, to make her self-governing, because until that was done, no other freedom was possible. But, at the same time, political freedom alone is not enough. To win freedom for the country was a goal and an ideal but, after all, it was only a stage on a path, on which to go further. Going ahead implied eradication of the difficulties faced by the people of the country, and giving equal opportunity to all for progress and living more or less comfortably. But this problem gains enormous proportions when it concerns hundreds of thousands of people. And it cannot perhaps be solved so easily as the first problem. Anyhow, we have solved the problem of political freedom from British rule. Now we are free from interference and pressure from external powers. Have we solved this problem or not? I am saying this because often voices are raised saying that this problem has not been fully solved and that though we talk a great deal about our freedom, we are in reality still tied to the British Government through our connection with the Commonwealth of Nations and other ties. Some people say that we are still tied up and that we are not completely free. This is something that should be considered carefully and cleared up. It is my personal opinion that there is no impediment to our freedom, to our complete freedom or sovereignty. There has never been any external interference in the last year and a half, not in the present nor is it likely in the future. Some people object to our present connection with the Commonwealth of Nations in which the United Kingdom is also a member. That relationship is purely a matter of expediency, and because of it we are called the Dominion of India. But even that relationship is likely to undergo a change because the new Constitution that is being framed is likely to be a republican type of Constitution. Yet the question that arises repeatedly is, what should be our relationship with the Commonwealth countries? There has been no final decision on it yet but it has been repea-



tedly stressed in the Jaipur Congress<sup>3</sup> that we should become a republic, and our entire policy, internal as well as external, should be completely independent and free from any kind of pressures, and keeping this in view, if we can possibly have a relationship with other countries, then we can do so. We have to evolve a relationship of equality as normally independent countries have among themselves, without any kind of pressure on or interference in our policies, internal or external. Rather we should do so for our mutual benefit. Opposition to this has come from two or three quarters. The Socialist Party have opposed it.<sup>4</sup> They have full right to oppose it. But is what is proposed good or bad is a matter to be considered carefully. It would be sheer ignorance and misconception to say that having a relationship or an agreement with any country, with England or the Commonwealth, will jeopardise our freedom. You can measure it by any yardstick you like.

Now another objection has been raised. One of my old colleagues loudly protested and said that when I went to England no one knew what sort of secret agreements I had made and that those agreements had aligned India to certain countries and so she was bound to be on their side in case of a war in the world.<sup>5</sup> You know that I have a great many weaknesses and faults. But I do not have one fault and that is I do not do any work secretly. Whatever I wish to do I put it before the people and also my views, and even if I want to keep it a secret, it comes out. Therefore it is quite useless to say that I do anything secretly. I would like to repeat that our foreign policy has always been to keep away from power blocs or groups of nations who have come together for security or out of fear. We decided right in the beginning not to join any such bloc, but to have friendly relations with all and cooperate with them as far as possible and use our power in such a manner as to prevent a big war. It is obvious that we do not have the power to change the trends of the world. We should realize our own strength. There is no point in indulging in tall talk. We may be a big coun-

3. At the Congress session in Jaipur in December 1948, it was declared that "in view of the attainment of complete independence and the establishment of the Republic of India, her present association with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth Nations will necessarily have to change. The Congress would welcome her free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common weal and promotion of world peace."
4. The Socialists contended that Britain still retained, through her investments, a considerable control over some of India's vital resources and economy, and therefore India should break away from any formal association with Britain and the Commonwealth.
5. In a speech in Madras Asoka Mehta criticized Nehru for the London agreement and said this in effect committed India to British decisions and was bound to involve her in a third world war if it came.

try but our influence is not so much that whatever we say the world will act accordingly. At the same time we should not feel that our country is completely weak or useless. There is strength in us which will increase in the future and the world knows that even now India is one of the great countries and that tomorrow or the day after she will have more influence on world policies. Therefore we should neither exaggerate India's importance merely to please ourselves nor minimize it. We should understand the realities. We have some influence in the world and it is increasing, but this influence is not such that we can do whatever we like. If we take right steps, especially by making our country strong internally, then our influence in the world will also increase. Loud and passionate speeches or threats or passing of any resolutions and challenging the world do not have any effect on other countries. All this is useless and strong people do not do such things. Ultimately it is the internal strength of a country which is reflected in our activities outside. If we are weak internally, the world can see it and evaluate it and then our words become useless. We are a growing power, but it is obvious that our strength has not increased as much as we would like it to. But we have repeatedly made it clear that we do not wish to join any power bloc, nor adopt their foreign policy. We will do only what we think proper in regard to any question that arises. It is obvious that no nation considers any problem, especially the great problems of the world in the air or in a manner it is done in a debating society, in a school or a college and comes to a hasty decision about its justness or otherwise, because every complex problem involves a great many complicated issues. You have to see how your decision will affect not only that particular problem but so many other issues which are connected with it. Similarly when we, the Government of India, consider a problem relating to some foreign matter, we have to take into account what other countries are doing in regard to it. We cannot take a decision in the air. This is so for every country in the world whether it is the United States or the Soviet Union or England. They cannot act only on their own. They have to consider carefully what other countries of the world are doing or not doing. Similarly our country has also to do so. But we have stressed that we will be completely independent in our policies and will act according to our own decisions. It is clear that we will try to carry other countries with us and also to go along with them. If you look at our activities in international affairs during the last one and a half years you may possibly think that we have committed some mistake, or done something right. That is a different matter. But I can say with full authority that we have done nothing because of any outside pressure or fear of any country or were obliged to accept some policy because some other country forced us to do so. We did whatever we thought was proper and in line with our foreign policy.



Let me give you a small example. Recently we had a Conference on Indonesia in this very city of Delhi.<sup>6</sup> As you know, eighteen countries participated in it and we were the nineteenth. There were many countries of Asia and two of Africa as well as Australia and New Zealand. There is no secret about the fact that the Conference was a tremendous success and the world was surprised and many were pleased with it. We did not convene the Conference<sup>7</sup> because of any outside pressure or on the suggestion of any big countries. We thought it proper to do it and so we did it. You might perhaps remember that the suggestion for this came first from the Prime Minister of Burma, Thakin Nu, who sent me a telegram at the end of December, or perhaps a little earlier, asking me to hold such a conference in Delhi. I considered his suggestion and wondered whether it was proper to take such a step when the matter was before the Security Council, lest it made matters worse. Therefore I told him that we should move warily and think about it carefully. A few days later some more developments took place. Taking them into account I felt that the time had come to hold this Conference. So we immediately sent out invitations to these eighteen countries. We had actually invited nineteen countries out of which eighteen accepted. Only one country did not accept,<sup>8</sup> but even that country said that it had full sympathy with our Conference and with the cause but, it added, because of some unavoidable circumstances it was unable to send any representative. But the newspapers of that country extended full cooperation in this matter.

It is a small example but it has got much significance as it shows how India's foreign policy is not bound by the policies of any other country and is not evolved by pressures or fear of other countries. Of course, it is true that what other nations do influences our policy because we have to take it into consideration before taking any decision. No country in the world can live in isolation, especially in the world of today which is so closely-knit. Therefore, I would like to point out very politely to those who oppose our policies that they should realize that we are even now completely independent in framing our internal and foreign policies. This will become even more marked when we become a republic. We follow whichever path we like and do not give in to pressures of any kind. It is obvious that this attitude can only strengthen after we become a republic legally and constitutionally. It cannot weaken. Then why this objection? I would also like to point out that we are not tied down to anything in any way. I went to London to attend the Dominion Premiers' Conference where we had a great deal of discussions without any restrictions. We discussed not only about

6. From 20 to 23 January 1949.

7. For details, see section 2, p. 154.

8. Turkey.



India but about other countries also. All the participating countries expressed their views without any inhibition on all matters—political, economic, military, etc. I also expressed my views freely because there were no restrictions or pressures on us of any kind. Rather all of us made it quite clear that we were completely free to follow any policy that we thought proper and shall do whatever we considered right.

Therefore it is absolutely wrong to say that we have tied ourselves down by any secret promises. It has never been our intention to do so, nor will we do such a thing in the future. You can apply any yardstick to measure our independence. We are not the only independent country. But I would like to point out with due deference that there are many countries in the world today who are called independent on the map and are free in a sense. But they cannot really do much on their own because of the pressure and fear of big countries. But we can do as we like and we actually do so. It is obvious that it would be foolish and harmful to do anything rashly. However, you must remove this notion of dependence from your mind.

Now, bearing in mind the fact we are completely independent and will continue to be so and become a republic, the second question that arises is, what should be the pattern of our relationship with other countries? That is something that has to be considered separately. All the countries of the world today, even the great powers, go in for alliances and treaties with other nations by giving them something or by entering into some agreements with them. We are one of the few countries which do not have such an alliance with any other nation because formal alliances involve give and take. Often it is expedient to do so. But if some other kind of relationship is possible, which involves no give and take and would allow us to maintain our freedom with benefit to us, it would be worthwhile considering it. Therefore we put this problem before the Jaipur Congress very clearly without trying to hide anything in the shape of a resolution as to what should be our foreign policy and what sort of relationship should be established with other nations and with England. We put it very clearly so as to leave no room for complaint that we were hiding something. What will be the final decision I cannot say because nothing has been decided yet. It was discussed there because it is something in which hundreds and thousands of people are interested and especially Congressmen. Therefore it was considered proper to put it before the Jaipur Congress, which was done. There was a debate on it and a resolution was adopted. You can rest assured that we will follow it to the letter and not deviate even slightly from it.

I mention this to you because there are often complaints and objections in the newspapers and I am in a puzzle whether to reply to them or not and what to say. There are so many criticisms especially of our foreign department and our policy towards other countries. Appointments of

ambassadors also often come in for criticism. It is obvious that I cannot justify every decision of ours as absolutely right.

This is a new task for us, whereas other countries have experience of fifty or hundred years in this sphere; their foreign services have certain traditions behind them. We had to start from scratch and the progress that we have made within a year and a half is amazing. If you consider the influence we have in the world and the high esteem in which our foreign policy and our ambassadors abroad are held, you can yourself see how high we have gone up in the eyes of the world. Our ambassadors everywhere are counted among the top four or five dignitaries. There are numerous small nations who consult our ambassadors; even in the United Nations they are consulted, because we command this reputation that our advice is farsighted, friendly and full of experience. It is also known that we do not try to take undue advantage of a situation as the bigger powers did in the past when they stretched out their limbs and tried to overpower other countries and enslave them. Even now there is a suspicion that these powers will try to spread imperialism and colonialism or use their money-power to pressurise others. Now nobody entertains this suspicion about India that we will try to enslave other countries or bring about some pressure on them with our money-power. Therefore they come to us with faith and confidence and in a spirit of friendliness to consult us. So what I mean to say is that India's reputation has gone up greatly in the eyes of the world in the field of international affairs. A reputation does not grow merely by resolutions and statements. An edifice is built brick by brick. We go ahead step by step. We move towards our goal by working for it constantly and only thus the people and other countries are impressed. So it is a big thing that we have achieved so much in a year and a half.

I would like to mention one thing more. My work has been chiefly in the field of foreign affairs. The people who are working in this field and in our offices here or outside are mostly young men newly recruited after passing examinations. Some older ones have been brought in by us from other fields. My experience with them has convinced me fully that these people who are now working for us, especially the new recruits, are very good and I have great hopes that once they gain a little more experience, they will do excellent work. Please remember there are many ways of gauging a country's progress. But ultimately what is it that a country needs most? It needs, of course, money, material, and all such things. But ultimately the basic thing is the human being and his quality. The country can progress very far, depending on the kind of people you have, and how well trained, honest and capable of hard work they are and how much courage, intelligence and integrity they have. If you have good man-power in the country, then you can be rest assured that the country will go far and even if any



dangers threaten, they can be overcome. But if you are lacking in this fundamental thing, then even if you have money and gold and silver or whatever it is, they will not take you very far because, after all, these are things produced by human beings by hard work and intelligence. The fundamental wealth is of human beings. You can produce any other kind of wealth. But if you do not have good human beings, then gold and silver cannot take you anywhere because they get squandered and then you are enslaved, and you cannot make any progress. Therefore wherever I go in India the thing that worries me most is that though we have tried to serve India for the last thirty, forty years—whether we did it well or not will be judged later—we are, after all, here for a short while and the burden will have to rest on other shoulders in the future, on the hundreds and thousands of shoulders because the burdens of a free country cannot be carried by a few individuals, however great they may be. A country can march ahead only when hundreds and thousands of its people share the responsibility. So wherever I go, my eyes are constantly searching and trying to evaluate what kind of people are likely to shoulder these burdens and whether they are first-rate or not—in intellect, behaviour, character and courage which are the normal yardsticks to measure a human being. If the people are first-rate, then I will be relieved and have confidence that we will be able to face any situation. If they are not, then there will be problems.

As I said, there are many young persons in our External Affairs Department and when I see them I feel confident that our Foreign Service will be a very strong one, especially in a few years' time when they have got more experience. You must remember that there are not only boys but girls too in the Service who are doing very good work.

Look at the armed forces for instance. I have had a very close association with the armed forces of India in the last one and a half years. I have met a large number of officers, our new recruits as well as senior officers. I have seen not only their administrative work but have also seen them in the battlefield, in Kashmir and elsewhere, and so I have had the opportunity of judging them. It is obvious that it would be useless to assert that every man in the Indian Army is absolutely first-rate. It would be foolish to say this of any other field too, but it is my firm opinion that our officers in the armed forces, especially our young officers, are absolutely first-rate, not only in military skills, but even mentally and intellectually. They are very alert and show a tremendous capacity to learn very fast, which they are doing. Whatever losses we may have suffered in men and money in this Kashmir war, there was one tremendous benefit that for our armed forces, our soldiers and officers, it became a training and experimenting ground. In a sense ours is a new army because though it was established a long time ago, it was rather broken up by the British personnel leaving and

also a big part of it being transferred to Pakistan. So in a way we had to create a new army. Newly recruited officers gained promotions rapidly—a captain of yesterday becoming a colonel today and a colonel a general. But you cannot make a man a capable officer merely by bestowing grand titles and ranks. That can happen only with experience. So the question in our minds was, how these new officers with high ranks would function and when would they be put to the test? You must remember that the work of a military officer in a battlefield is extremely complex. It is not like a desk job involving consultations and the writing of a minute or a note. In the battlefield, decisions have to be taken on the spot one way or the other. Even a small mistake can lead to defeat and loss of life. Of course, courage is necessary but even more important is the ability to consider a problem calmly, however complicated and dangerous it may be, and to take a decision without giving in to panic. These are important qualities and very few men measure up to such standards. Our experience of the last one and a half years has led me to the belief that our senior officers and juniors and young men in our armed forces are first-rate people and have come out of the test in real life with flying colours. This is not my opinion alone. I would like to tell you that people from other countries who were familiar with other armies also said the same thing when they came here. They told me that they were amazed to meet the young officers in our army, to see their mental ability and the good work they had been doing.

I have given you two examples. I can give you many more examples to show that there is good material in our country, human material, which can assure great progress for the country. If you take the other kind of material which constitutes a country's wealth—not gold or silver, but the source from which they can be produced, the quality of land and minerals like coal and iron, which are very important in today's world—then we have plenty of that too in India. We have not tapped it fully. But the wealth is there. Think of the enormous power hidden in the Himalayas, ranging from Kashmir to Assam. Power is of so many different types. Water generates power. There are big rivers which swell into floods, bringing ruin and disaster, and flow into the sea. If we can arrest that power, it can be converted into electricity. The water can be used for irrigation by building canals which will bring prosperity to various parts of the country. The electricity can be used for putting up hundreds and thousands of industries and factories. We can put an end to the havoc which is caused by these floods and other such calamities.

The Himalayas have various minerals and we have to mine them. They are the repository of such enormous power that if we can bring it into use by hard work, then the whole country can benefit tremendously. What I mean is that we have everything necessary for progress in our country—we



have trained men and material. All that needs to be done is to harness the two and produce more and more. Yes, all this certainly takes time and it is obvious that the faster we harness them to the task of development, the sooner we will be rid of the country's problems. If there are riots and fighting and tension in any part of the country, all this work comes to a standstill.

In the last one and a half years, tremendous problems arose, the most important being the partition of India. Millions of people, five or six million of our brethren, came here as refugees. This was an enormous problem. Perhaps no other newly independent country would have been able to face a problem of such magnitude. Then there were other problems created by the ending of British rule. With it an era came to an end, and the problem of the princely States also arose. Then came the war in Kashmir. Above all, the effect of the Second World War was being felt all over. There was inflation, prices were going up and so there were enormous economic problems. And everyone began to clamour for the solution of these problems all at once. Anyhow, we have tried our best to face them and find a solution. It is very easy for you and me to make a list of all the problems that are still unsolved, especially these economic and political questions which are troubling the nation and its people greatly. It is obvious that everyone is affected by such problems as rising prices. We can make a long list of them. There is the refugee problem. Millions of people are waiting to be rehabilitated and settled. All this is no doubt true. But you must try to make a long list of the tasks which have already been accomplished and I can assure you that it is not a small list by any means. It includes the problem of the princely States which has been settled to a very large extent. That was a great problem which could have easily destroyed India. Then we have mustered a grand army out of the broken remnants of the old one. We have settled nearly thirty or forty lakhs of refugees, though many are still waiting. Now it is not a small thing to have rehabilitated 30 to 40 lakhs of people. People often look at the things which have not been done and rightly too. But we must occasionally glance at the things which have been accomplished because only then does the complete picture emerge. There are many other problems. There is no doubt about it, and I am sure everyone will accept this, that our activities in the international sphere have won great esteem for India in the eyes of the world. These achievements are on the credit side. There is much on the debit side too. A balance can be found only by looking at both the sides.

Anyhow, we ought to look at these things today and see what has been done and what still remains to be done. Certainly more attention should be paid to the latter because we cannot afford to become complacent or relax our efforts. The fact is that we live in a world where, whatever the



future might hold for us, there can be no scope for relaxing, especially for those in positions of power and responsibility. They cannot hope to relax because the world is beset with innumerable problems. In a sense those who are holding the reins of government in any country today are in a way sentenced to hard labour as long as they are there. None can hope for any respite from hard work. On the other hand, everyone will be driven to hard work more and more. There are different kinds of work. One is the sort of work that a human being does when he is forced and pushed into it. That is not very nice to do. The other kind is the work done by an individual happily and voluntarily and in the conviction that he is doing something worthwhile, which benefits him as well as the country. He does not lose heart when he is doing something like that even if he has to work very hard. On the contrary, he feels uplifted. Actually it is the work which is done whole-heartedly by a human being that is really worthwhile and gives him strength and pleasure. In the last 30 to 40 years many of us in this country took part in the struggle for freedom. What did we hope to achieve in return? We did not earn any money or wealth or kudos.

Yes, occasionally a few people got fame for themselves among the public. But the majority of our workers remained anonymous. They sacrificed everything and spent their entire life-time in the struggle, their homes were ruined and yet what was their reward? Even so, they threw themselves heart and soul into their work. Why? It was because it mattered to them immensely. They wished for no rewards. Thus a great task was accomplished. These days I see the atmosphere is entirely different. Every individual feels that the responsibility is someone else's, not his own. Everyone feels that it is the duty of the Government to remove the ills which beset the nation. All right, it is the responsibility of the Government. But do you think that in the complex world of today, all the problems can be solved by a Government decree or legislation? If that was so, why would there be so many problems in the world? Today, the great problems of the world can be solved by only one method and that is by getting the help and cooperation of the people. Far from helping out, many people are busy putting obstacles in the way of others and on trying to ruin their efforts with the result that instead of getting solved, problems are becoming more complicated.

Then there is a constant tension between capital and labour, between the capitalists and the working class, between the workers and factory-owners. To a certain extent, shall I say, their interests clash. That is of course justified. But the dangerous thing in the present economic situation in India is that every individual seeks to restrict production, whether in fields or in factories. This will only increase the poverty and the scarcity in the country. The accumulated wealth of the country does not take us very

far. In any case, that wealth consists of things made with bricks and mortar, like buildings and houses. But the country has to live on the wealth that it produces. Whatever the farmer produces, the nation eats. You cannot hoard wheat or rice for very long because they go bad. Therefore if we reduce our production, immediately the whole country is affected and it loses its paying capacity. This is a fundamental point. The workers certainly have the right to strike and I am not saying that they should never resort to it or that they should put up with injustice or pressures. The right to strike is after all a weapon in their hands against these evils. I agree that we must look for ways and means to solve problems and disputes by peaceful methods, by impartial arbitration. Workers should not strike and mill-owners should not adopt arbitrary measures. It should be sorted out judiciously. We are trying to pass laws to this effect—some have already been passed—but until then, workers continue to have the right to strike. This right is all very well but to use it at this time when it causes the maximum damage to others and to the nation is like cutting your nose to spite your face. If they think that by going on strike they will benefit greatly, they are absolutely wrong. How can they possibly gain anything? Take, for example, government servants, employees in the railways, the postal department, and other such organizations, who are millions in number. It is our duty to look after them and to ensure that they receive adequate wages and other facilities. I accept all this. It is also equally obvious that we have not been able to do as much for them as we would have liked to because the circumstances constrained us. After all, if we wish to do something for their welfare, where is the money to come from? It does not drop from the heaven, nor do we have a Harun's<sup>9</sup> treasury. It has to come out of your pockets in the form of taxes. Where else can it come from? So it casts a great burden on the common people. Therefore we have to calculate very carefully as to how much we can afford to give. If production is slowed down due to strikes, either in the factories or in the railways, there is an enormous loss to the nation. In many ways, the paying capacity of the nation in terms of salaries and wages is immediately reduced. There is no question of intent in this. The power gets reduced because if there is no money in the treasury how can we pay? Would they like us to print and distribute paper money? That would be a very easy thing to do but what will its value be? Therefore I am amazed at the irresponsibility of the people who talk about strikes, and such matters in these times. I am aware that there are many factory owners and industrialists who have been indulging in many illegal and improper activities and have made a lot of black money. I am well aware

9. Harun al Rashid, the legendary Caliph of *The Arabian Nights* who reigned from 786 to 809 AD.



of all this and a solution has to be found. But one wrong cannot be rectified by another wrong. This can only harm the nation.

As I told you just now, looked at from any angle, the future of India beckons like a bright and shining light. But we must remember at the same time that we are at a very crucial situation economically. We have to control the situation very quickly because the problem is that if we do not do it quickly then our influence in the great affairs of the world will diminish and we cannot give advice to other countries with confidence and a sense of strength. It will lead to innumerable weaknesses in us. Therefore it becomes necessary just now for you and me to solve the economic problem together. It cannot be done immediately. It cannot be done by a magic wand. In my view, our Government has quite clearly failed to take any great steps in this direction—perhaps it has deliberately not done so—and we cannot afford to go slowly any more. Urgent steps are required. We want to march ahead rapidly and we will. But it is our considered opinion that if we go ahead rapidly in one direction while we are still not properly settled in another, then only harm can result. Therefore we had to first stabilize ourselves before we could move forward. So we hesitated a little in the beginning. It is possible that we may have benefited if we had taken some steps right at the beginning. I really cannot say. I am telling you how our minds were working at that time. We have taken up the matter and the situation will gradually be brought under control. We have to bear in mind the economic crisis that is likely to arise in the course of this year or in the next eight or ten months in other parts of the world and be prepared to face it. So we have to take all these things into account while running the government. A government can function only so long as its mind is alert. Though our young people have the right to question us when we fail to do something, they often fail to understand the economic situation of the world or what the consequences of a particular step are likely to be. There is no great advantage in passing resolutions on paper. The effects of inflation and deflation are rather peculiar. Therefore it is wrong to take any step which weakens us internally, either economically or politically. We are trying to lay the foundations of India's future.

Take yet another case. As you know, for the last few days the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh has launched a satyagraha in various parts of India.<sup>10</sup> You know my views regarding the R.S.S. There are many youngsters in the R.S.S., mere children, in fact. Now it is obvious that we can not get annoyed with children. After all, they are our children, who have

10. The R.S.S. workers had been carrying on a satyagraha movement all over India from 10 December 1948 to 19 January 1949, in protest against their leader M.S. Golwalkar having been taken back into detention on the charge of reviving Jana Sangh activities, in spite of the party being banned.

to shoulder the responsibilities of the nation. But when a childish attitude is brought to bear on important issues, the results are absolutely wrong. I am amazed to see the extent to which the R.S.S. is wrong in its basic policies. After all, its membership does not consist wholly of youngsters; there are any number of people of advanced years. There is no quarrel with their desire to work for India's development on the lines of its ancient culture and tradition. But the difference lies in the methods adopted by them. In my view, their way of looking at these problems is so absolutely wrong and narrow-minded that it cannot but take India on a disastrous course. I will go so far as to say that it is this narrow-mindedness and inexperience which resulted in India becoming a slave of the British. A nation can progress not by high-sounding words but by a serious attempt to understand its problems. If 150 or 200 years ago, such narrow-minded attitudes could bring about the downfall of the country, in today's modern times, when the world has changed and people are looking at everything from a scientific point of view, it will be even more foolish to resort to narrow-mindedness once again. I consider it absolutely wrong from the political, moral, cultural and traditional angles. I consider it wrong from every angle. And I feel sad that our young men and women should be led astray.

Well, the matter has ended. I am not really bothered about the R.S.S., but I will repeat what I said earlier. I am constantly searching everywhere to see in which direction the new India that is shaping up will look and what it will do. I will not be alive then for after all I am not immortal. The burden will fall on the next generation and whenever I see their thoughts taking a wrong direction, I feel sad because the picture that I have in my mind of the future of India is a grand one—of a powerful nation, big not in size only but in every way, intellectually, culturally and traditionally, which can influence the world. I do not mean the influence of military might. We thought India should be strong too—but of the mind and heart. Have you ever considered how a nation evaluates its great men? Generally those who are in high positions are considered great—like Kings and Prime Ministers and Ministers and Generals. This is the common yardstick applied in the wealthy countries of Europe and America. What is the yardstick applied in India? It is obvious that here too people in high positions or with money are respected. But even so, whom does India in her heart of hearts really respect? She does not respect position or money and, in the ultimate analysis, not even intellect, but qualities of the heart and the inner spiritual strength of an individual. India held Mahatma Gandhi in great respect, obviously not because he had money or position, nor was he heir to a great estate, but because he had a fundamental inner spiritual strength. Down the ages India has always held men of character and moral values and spiritual strength in respect, irrespective of their origins. This



is something worth considering. The rest of the world too does respect such things, though off-hand I cannot say whether Mahatma Gandhi would have been venerated so much if he had been elsewhere—perhaps he may not have been accorded so much respect as in India. I have given you an example of an individual. The same thing applies to a nation too. Nations are generally respected for their economic strength, military power and such assets. I want all these things for India but, above all, I want that India should be held in respect in the world because of her other qualities. India's ancient history bears witness to her qualities and inner spiritual strength which are timeless.

This is the India of my dreams. Even if it takes a few years longer to fulfil that dream, it is better to work for it rather than to bungle everything by hasty and wrong steps, deception or sleight of hand which will destroy our very foundation. Now, the path followed by the R.S.S. is quite different from this and absolutely wrong. It takes the country along a fundamentally different path, towards internal squabbles and downfall, narrow-mindedness, and it isolates us from the rest of the world. Ultimately it will weaken us because it is a completely wrong path. I do not want to give other examples, but there are other organizations like the R.S.S. with a similar outlook. Real greatness lies in being large-hearted, and not in narrow-mindedness. A man does not become great merely by being six feet in height but by having a large heart and a great mind.

Four days hence we shall meet to observe the first death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi. It is proper that not only on that day but every day we should think about his philosophy and the lessons taught by him—not his words alone, but the lessons taught by the way he lived his life and also that undefinable quality in him before which the entire world bowed its head. It was something great and if you and I can imbibe even a small part of it and try to follow the path shown by him then I have full faith that India's future will be a splendid one even if we are in some ways weak.  
*Jai Hind.*



## 5. The Time for Hard Labour<sup>1</sup>

Your Excellency, Mr. Premier, Vice Chancellor,<sup>2</sup> Members of the University and friends,

You have had a great deal of eloquence today, and you have seen many eminent persons, and I am not quite sure if it is not an imposition on you to listen to another address. Yesterday, I am told, you listened to a very eloquent address from Dr. Radhakrishnan<sup>3</sup>. I have the misfortune not to have been present. It is too much of giving you addresses and perhaps too much of giving you good advice which may not be good for the giver or the listener. Nevertheless, I have to perform the function and a duty, and I suppose it is your function and duty at present to listen to me.

I have to thank you for the honour you have conferred upon me.<sup>4</sup> I shall say frankly that I have had so much honour and love from my people that a little addition to it does not make much difference. You have showered so much affection that I doubt if anyone else could have had that privilege at any time. And while it has naturally warmed my heart always and affected me greatly, it has also made me feel very embarrassed and sometimes a little frightened. So, although the grant of a Doctorate by the Lucknow University may, if you will permit me to say so, make no great difference to me, but the invitation coming from Lucknow, from this University and from my dear friend and colleague, the Vice Chancellor, did make a difference, and I appreciated it, and my heart warmed inside me and I wanted to come here, and I did come here because however much I might be tied up in other works and in other places, I can never forget that the days, perhaps, of my most intense work were passed roundabout here, Lucknow or Allahabad or other parts of this province. A great part of my days of activity, as well as of enforced inactivity, were passed in Lucknow

1. Speech at the Silver Jubilee Convocation of Lucknow University, 28 January 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.
2. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu was the Governor of U.P. and Chancellor of the University, G.B. Pant, the Premier and Acharya Narendra Deva, the Vice Chancellor.
3. On 27 January 1949, Radhakrishnan in his Convocation address advised the students to contribute to the building up of the country and to guard themselves against the 'dangers of private ambitions and personal selfishness'. He said that, "what we need today is not merely a kind of external arrangement but a kind of internal growth."
4. Nehru received the degree of Doctor of Literature (*Honoris Causa*) along with Radhakrishnan, Maulana Azad and twelve others.

and Allahabad. So, often sitting in New Delhi, I have a feeling of nostalgia for those old days and for these places which are associated with those old days. When I come here from time to time, much too rarely, and I see old faces, and I think again of those old days, and I find those old faces somewhat changed, then it strikes me that I too have changed greatly. So I am happy to be here among friends, and to thank you not merely for this additional honour you have done me but all the great honour you have done me for years past in the love that you have given me.

I have been wondering what I shall speak to you about; I can hardly give you advice, but whether you call it advice or not, I do wish to tell you of something that I have in my mind. Something that troubles me often enough, and that I think should trouble each one of you because we live through difficult and stirring times, and it is up to each one of us, whatever his station in life, whatever his job, to think of himself in terms of these big problems that we have to face and think of his own duty towards them, what he has to do and what he has not to do.

I am thrilled often enough when I see these great problems of India, when I see the tremendous affection and the confidence that the people of India have placed in me. I am worried often enough with a sense of my own inadequacy. How can anyone be adequate enough to deal with any problem? Problems have to be dealt with not by one person but by some persons. But how can one, anyone, be adequate for this great confidence and affection? I feel that. Yet in regard to one matter my faith has never wavered and that is the adequacy of India. And because I have had that faith in me in the past and in the present, it does not very much matter, after all, whether I think I am individually or personally adequate or not so long as I put all the strength and energy that is in me, in my task and in my duty, that is as much as I can do, that is as much as you can do. For the rest, if India as a whole is adequate, India will pull through, as she has pulled through on many a past occasion, and so because of that faith and that assurance I carry on, though sometimes there is a certain weariness of spirit, and sometimes a little sorrow, that the wide dreams that many of us had somehow do not take shape as we wanted them to take shape. Somehow when work is to be done, solid work, great work, calling upon us to do it, our attention is distracted by petty conflicts, by all kinds of wrong things being done. When this young generation on whose shoulders the great task of carrying India a stage further in her long journey is going to fall, when this young generation behaves in a manner which is incomprehensible to me, it amazes me. And when they talk about taking part in politics or this or that, I am amazed that the whole of India is shouting for work, shouting for labour, shouting for building, and when doing things they think in other directions and they work in other directions, they talk some language which I



do not understand. Have I got old, then I wonder, am I cut off from this younger generation? Am I right or are they right? Who is right and who is wrong? I do not know. Perhaps, I may be wrong. Anyhow I can only work according to my own lights.

Here is a time when work is required, labour is required, peace is required, cooperative effort is required. When all the concentrated energy that a nation possesses is required to be put to the great tasks of the nation, what are we doing? No doubt, many of us are working to that end, many of us are trying our utmost to that end. No doubt, the nation is advancing and progressing. Nevertheless, when I look around me, I see not an atmosphere of work, not a psychology of things being done, but only thought of criticism and running down and finding fault, petty factions and the like. I see them in all grades, above and below, the younger generation and the older generation, everywhere, and then as I said, a slight feeling of uneasiness comes over me, a malaise, because after all, I may have a few more years to labour and the only ambition that I have is that to the end of my days I should work my hardest and then when I have done my job I should be thrown on the scrap heap. Do not bother about me after that. It is the job and the work that counts, not the thinking and dreaming and shouting of our people who have done their job and gone. So, I shall go having done my job as best as I could. But what then? When those of my colleagues and I who have, for good or ill, played an important part on the Indian stage—in all over India or in this province—during the past twenty or thirty years or more, when we go, others will take our place, because a nation goes on and on and on. Men and women come and go but the nation goes on. It has that something of the eternal about it and India certainly is that type of nation which has something of eternity behind it, in its ideas and in its growth and even in its decay. So we shall pass and the burden that we have carried adequately or not, will fall on other shoulders. What of these shoulders?

Have I come here to praise you or to listen to your praises? We have done that frequently enough. You have praised me and may be I have praised you. This is not good enough. Let us not waste our time in mutual praise and embracings when work is to be done. There is a time for work and there is a time for play, just as there is a time for laughter and there is a time for tears. Today it is the time for work in this nation, for this generation of ours, if I may say so, is condemned to hard labour. You cannot get out of it, howsoever you may want to. But then it makes all the difference what kind of labour we do and in what spirit we approach it. If it is labour and good work, then that is an uplifting thing, an exhilarating thing, a strengthening thing. It does not matter how hard you work. People come and tell me, do not work so hard, you don't

sleep enough. Absurd, as if that counts! What counts is something entirely different. No man has ever died of hard work. If he is working for a good cause, his spirit is in it; but people do die of envy and other things. So you and I have to work. What kind of work? What is your conception of work? Today people seem to imagine that work lies in marching up and down the street, considering or calling it a demonstration, or stopping work whether it is in a factory or in a school or somewhere else. You can call it a hartal or some other kind of demonstrative activity like that. Now, may be that has its uses sometimes. I have no doubt, it might. But I do tell you, and I tell you in all sincerity, that I can imagine no greater crime to India when this kind of thing is going on today. I am not joking. I have a few more years of activity and I want to see India great and strong and a flourishing State, not only doing its duty to its own people but to the wide world.

And when I see our young men going along different lines, when I see young men and hysterical young women misbehave, I am angry. I tell you that all the work that we have done is just going to be lost because some hysterical people talk nonsense in this way and behave in a nonsensical manner. Is this your idea of liberty and democracy and freedom? What is happening here? I am amazed at this business. I want to be frank with you about it. This is not the way we are going to build up our nation. Have you any idea what the difficulties are before our country? We, who are in the Government, may also err and make mistakes, an infinite number of mistakes. I do not mind walking out of Government, as I am quite sure, that the U.P. Government do not mind walking out too. Have you any idea of the burdens of those who have been put in the seats of authority? Criticise them by all means, but it is the hardest sentence that you can give to any individual today in India to put him in a seat of authority. Well, we do not mind. That is of our choosing. We shall be there a little while more, but think of the problems that you have to face, not only of India but of the wide world. The world is in a peculiar way. It is an astonishing spectacle you see in this world of today. You see upsurges of the spirit, of constructive efforts, of great men all over the world. Today there are probably more men of goodwill all over the world than ever in the history of the world. At the same time you see evil forces at work, you see disruptive forces, warlike forces, all kinds of things working. There is a conflict between all these things, and I do not know and you do not know what the result of that conflict will be. But I do know this that in this business, so long as we have life and strength, we will fight the evil forces in India or elsewhere. We will stand for the good forces, for the forces that free the human spirit and not suppress it.

What is the problem? You seek to answer that problem in your debating societies or in your demonstrations. But have you even framed the pro-



blem? Too many people seek answers without knowing what the question is. It is an odd thing, but the fact remains that we all talk about answers without knowing what the question is, without trying to understand the question or the problem that is before the world. Well, the world is a big place, nevertheless, you cannot isolate problems of India from the world problem; you cannot isolate the problem of the U.P. or Lucknow from the larger problems. Therefore, you must have some vague conception atleast of this wide problem. And at this great moment of transition in human history if you want to understand any problem, you will have to understand it in the sweep of history of the past—to see how it has developed and what the roots of it are. It is no good, it is not enough for you and me to shout out a few slogans now and call it the understanding of a problem or the solution of a problem. Slogans are good because they concentrate sometimes an idea in a few words. Slogans may be used—but to think that a slogan is the answer to a problem is just to delude oneself.

I like to talk to you and tell you what I think about the many aspects of this world problem and the Indian problem and all these problems that we have to face. I have to think about them, I have to wrestle with these problems, knowing fully about my own inadequacy. Nevertheless, I have to wrestle, because it is my job to do so. So I am continually thinking about them, and my mind bubbles over with various aspects of this and I want to share those aspects with you. If I have the time, I want to tell you about them because I do believe in this country. If we have to get on in a democratic way, and there is no other way of getting on, we must share our difficulties with each other, we must understand each other, we must give ideas to each other, and point out our own objections and difficulties to each other. Therefore, I would like to share all this with you—but life is too short for me to do that here, there or anywhere; I cannot. But some indications atleast I want to place before you.

Look at this problem. Just for a moment forget India, and look at the broad aspect of this problem in the sweep of history. Where have we arrived? I won't go too far back, but a hundred and fifty years ago or longer than that we saw the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the western world, and that progressed for a hundred years or more. It was based on a certain development, a new form of capitalist structure or society. Industrial capitalism—now what did the industrial capitalism seek to do? What did it aim at? It aimed at the greater production of wealth. Before that the world was very poor, production was limited. It had stabilized itself at a poverty level. Industrial capitalism sought to increase the wealth of the world by new means of production. It had in it the seeds of certain difficulties and contradictions—but leave that out—indus-



trial capitalism, for a variety of reasons, progressed and solved the problem it had set to itself. Remember that capitalism has been one of the greatest successes of the past. It solved the problem of production, but in solving it, it produced other contradictions and other difficulties.

People shout slogans without understanding that a certain phrase is good for an age and that it may be evil for another age. They do not show any understanding; they only show a blurring of the mind. Now you are not going to solve the problems of today by blurring your minds in that way. As you solve the problem of production, immediately a different problem raises its head, that is, the problem of distribution of what is produced. So a conflict is inherent. That conflict did not come to a head for a long time, because this industrial capitalism in a sense grew up only in a sector of the world, in certain parts of Europe and America, and they had the rest of the world to play with, to expand, to exploit it, if you like. They kept a certain balance because they could spread out in this way; otherwise the crisis, no doubt, would have come much sooner in the western world. But gradually crises came in the western world—a crisis, a big crisis led to the First World War thirty or forty years ago. It was the First World War that upset the more or less stabilized or what appeared to be stabilized economy of the world. Since that First World War there has been no settling down and there is going to be no settling down, perhaps, for a long time to come till a large number of adjustments are made. And essentially the question of settling down is not only growth of production but also the solution of the problem of equitable distribution.

Now, I am purposely not using terms which have definite connotations in your minds—socialism, communism, capitalism, and the like. Try to think of what the problem is and not get vaguely lost in a term which may have a hundred meanings. So you had the second war following upon the first, because of this maladjustment and lack of adjustments. And I do not know, you may even have a third war, although the odd thing is that each war does not help to solve the problem but makes it infinitely more difficult. I referred to a possible third war—I do not, I might add—personally think that there is any prospect, or probability of war in the near future or well, shall I say, in two or three years. So do not be frightened that the war is just next door. Nevertheless, nobody can say that war is outlawed or outmoded or will not take place. Now just keep a picture in your mind of what the business of war means or a new war. If there is a war then there can be little doubt that war will mean the most tremendous destruction on the widest scale, infinitely more than any past war has done. It will mean—apart from destruction of humanity, of cities, etc., what the human race has built up through ages—it will mean the limiting of food production. Now ever since the last war food has been a big

problem in the world. As you know in India it has been one of our major problems. If there is another war, food production will be so limited that there probably will be death by starvation by millions all over the world. People think rather lightly of war. The next war, a world war, is going to be the greatest disaster that humanity has ever experienced, and do not imagine that India or any part of the world is going to escape that disaster—some may have more of it, some may have less. It just does not matter who is going to be the winner in that war—because this destruction will be a common factor, this tremendous loss will be a common factor all over the world. The winner in that war will face a ruined world, not a pleasant thing to face. So we have these problems that have arisen. Now if we think that we can solve these problems by war, I personally think that is a mistaken notion. Of course, the world solves its problems, each generation solves its problems, just as each individual solves his problems.



blems of the day, but they have neither the time nor the leisure to consider these problems in their broader aspects.

Now, how are we to get over this, I do not know. I put this difficulty before you. Take a country like the United States of America, which is technologically speaking the most advanced country, and therefore, from the point of view of material resources the most powerful country. It can produce wealth and where there is wealth there is power. But I do feel, looking at it, that this very growth has made it more difficult for the people of the United States, individuals apart of course, for the average persons, to be anything but a specialist in his own domain. He is very good. Take an American engineer, an American doctor—he is very good at his job. But he is so good that he has no time to be good at anything else. Now America is a good example to understand this, because America has the highest development of a certain type towards which the world has been going. Others have also gone that way but not quite so far.

Now we, who are in India, are bound to be industrialised; we are trying to be industrialised; we must be industrialised for greater wealth, greater production. That is true, but are we going just to create a number of specialised agencies and specialists and thus think that we are solving the problem? We have to create specialists, but we must have an understanding of the problem, not only in its wide context today, but somewhat in the wide sweep of history. Then, perhaps, at least we will try to understand it and later we can try to answer it. Obviously a complicated problem like this is not going to be answered by a slogan, or by a demonstration in the streets of Lucknow. I am merely giving ideas to you to think about because the problem can be discussed *ad infinitum* without coming to an end, but I just want you to realise how complicated and difficult this problem is.

In India, we, a year and a half ago, attained political independence. In a sense, politically speaking, our goal is achieved. The test of it is this—it is not even some law enshrined in the Constitution, though that is a semblance of the freedom that you may have—can you or your Government that represents you, do this or that? Is it impeded from doing anything domestically or in the foreign sphere or not? Well, it is perfectly clear that there is nothing to stop us or impede us in war or peace, nothing, I say, except something which every country has to face, that is, the facts and the circumstances in which we live. That we cannot help. There are plenty of countries which I can name to you, which are hundred per cent independent in theory, and hundred per cent not independent in practice, because they are too weak really to do what they like, because politically or economically or in some other ways they are dependent on some other country's good wishes. So as we have achieved political freedom, now, normally speaking, we would have to face a multitude of problems that had accumulated during

the past generations of hundred and fifty years of British rule, because British rule, being an imposition from outside, prevented the normal adjustment of social relations, the normal solution of problems, which otherwise would have taken place either peacefully or by violence. Something would have happened; they would not have remained as they were. But this imposition from outside prevented that process of adjustment that goes on in a country from time to time. The result is that as soon as the British domination goes, all these problems suddenly jump up and demand solution, whether it is the States problem or any other. Well, we have to face them.

At the same time all this occurs when the world is trying to recover from the effects of a tremendous world war. We have all the problems of that world war in financial and economical spheres. Just then, at that minute of independence, India is partitioned. It is as if some living thing is cut into two resulting in a tremendous loss of blood and loss of all manner of other things. Everything is cut, whether it is our army, our postal service, telegraph service, telephone service, irrigation service, all the governmental machinery or organisation, suddenly cut in two. It is an astounding performance. The consequences of it, quite apart from the other consequences that follow, are migration and killing and the rest of it on a tremendous scale. Now we have to face a refugee problem of vast dimensions. Six million people to be looked after—all kinds of people, middle-class people, working class people, peasants, people who have never done a stroke of work in their lives, people who had worked and can not find work and so on. Just remember all these problems when you sit down and criticise the Government of India or the Government of U.P.

Yesterday I was coming from the aerodrome and a number of refugees tried to stop my car. I understand they wanted to meet me today. I shall probably meet them. But when these refugees, with whom all of us sympathize, point out that they have not received this help or that help, have you ever tried to think that out of the six million, that is sixty lakhs of refugees, how many have been settled? Try to think of the job that has been done. I tell you that it is an amazing job that we have done in regard to the settlement of refugees. This was the biggest job in history that we have done. But what you hear all the time is what we have not done. I do not mind. I want to listen to what we have not done, so that we may not forget it. We must be kept vigilant. That is all right. But try to conceive of what has been achieved and what is being achieved in every sphere of national life and do not only think always of the lack of achievement. First try to think of the problem that this Government had to face which, in some of my speeches, I have pointed out to you. See first what the achievement is and then see what the lack of achievement is, and then, thinking both of the achievement and the lack of achievement, let us try our hardest. After all,



you must understand that in a democratic country or in any country of course, much more so in a country with some kind of a democratic government, you cannot expect the government to do everything for you.

It is an astonishing thing how you and I and most of us have not got rid of the habits of mind and action which we developed under British rule. This business of walking up and down with half a dozen banner might have been a suitable thing under British rule. I would not say it is never suitable—but it is seldom suitable today. But I am talking about the habits of mind which the British Government tried to inculcate, talking about themselves as the *ma-bap* government, that is, the government is to do everything. The people are merely to send in petitions to some government official and he graciously passes orders on them. Well, that is not a way a democratic government can function.

A government which deals with vital social problems, spread-out social problems, has to function very differently from a government which is essentially a police state. A police state has only to keep the peace, to collect revenue more or less, and do some little jobs. Today we have to tackle intricate social, economic problems. Now, those problems cannot be tackled by a *firman* or a *ukase* or a decree issued from a government. What is a law? A law helps or hinders. Therefore, governmental activity must be right and ought to be right. But in economic matters governmental activity goes only thus far. It is the activity of the people, it is the temper of the people, it is the cooperation of the people in general that makes all the difference this way or that way. And I tell you that the best of all laws or activities of government can well be, if not nullified, lessened greatly or their effectiveness will lessen very greatly if there is no will to work in the people or to cooperate to that end. And I tell you also that even a feeble government, even a bad policy of government, can yield greater results in the country if people cooperate to that end. So the essential thing is how to develop that psychology, the psychology of work and cooperation among the people. Today, if we are suffering from anything in India, it is that the right psychology is not present. Whether it is in the worker or the owner of the factory, or whether it is the younger generation, it is entirely a wrong psychology. It is a psychology of thinking that they can achieve ends by threats and demonstrations and the rest. And I am sorry to say that people, who ought to know much better, somehow are taken in by it and encourage this kind of thing. Now, I tell you that I consider nothing more dangerous for India's present or India's future than the continuance of this psychology. I told you right at the beginning that I have infinite faith in India's future, and if I did not have that faith, perhaps I could not have functioned or worked as I have done. But having that infinite faith I want to tell you that we have to face pretty hard prob-

blems today. Let us not deceive each other. We have to face difficult problems, very difficult problems and we have to lift ourselves up by our bootstraps in many ways.

You are going to get no money and gold and silver or loan from other countries. We have to produce it ourselves. How do you produce by hartals and the like or by closing down, how are you going to increase wages and salaries and the rest as you want to? Where does money come from? It comes from taxation, from your pockets and nowhere else. So it is a very simple proposition—sit down and think it out when you make demands. It just amazes me when a number of students come to me and talk casually that they ought to see members of the University Commission in order to place their demands before them. They are only talking about demands. Now there is such a thing as India also having some demands upon you. You seem to have forgotten that, but I think it is about time that you remember the demands upon you, in terms of your patriotism, your duty and work and hard labour. There are too few people in India who think of this and who work hard to that end. Everybody has demands, everybody has objections, everybody has criticisms and everybody thinks that, possibly, if his demands were met, then everything will be all right, forgetting that the meeting of his demand means making somebody else to give up his demand, because demands clash. So think of all these problems.

Obviously, we have inherited a certain judicial structure, a certain political structure, administrative structure, economic structure and the rest. We have to change that. Now, how are we going to change that? There can be two ways of changing if you like. One is, break a little and build anew, or break it up completely, get a clean slate and write upon it. As a matter of fact there is no clean slate in life. There never has been, there never will be. You can never get rid of the past completely. Nevertheless, you can have a more or less clean slate. Now, if we decide that the breaking up is essential for the progress of the nation, that we should smash up the structure that we have got, then let us set about it and smash it up. But we have to understand the consequences of it. I do not agree with that, but I want you to realise that one must be clear about it. Are we trying to smash up and build anew right from the bottom or are we going to change as rapidly as we can, as rapidly as we are capable of bringing the existing structure nearer to what we think is the right one. You have to choose between the two, because adopting a middle course is fatal. You do not completely smash it up, so you never start building again, and you do not allow the changing process to go on. So neither takes place except a continuous deterioration and a gradual drifting towards collapse. Now this business of breaking up, smashing it and starting anew means



enormous conflict because some would resist it and some would not. It means a continuance of the conflict and not an immediate smashing up as you might like, but a slow smashing up which might take a long time and which prevents other things being done. It means if you succeed in smashing up then you, perhaps, have a clean slate. But a clean slate, as I said, does not come, and the smashing up process also enfeebles a nation in every sense—politically, militarily, economically and financially it enfeebles a nation. Therefore, suddenly India, at a critical stage of her young existence as a free country, would be enfeebled. I do not know what the consequences might be.

As a person responsible for the fate of India I dare not enfeeble my nation and give a chance to evil-minded countries and evil-minded forces to come in and play havoc in this country. I may thereby imperil my freedom and freedom may be imperilled not only politically or from the military point of view, but from the economic point of view also. If you are enfeebled and are helpless and our millions are in a starving condition, we cannot do anything. We may take out our processions and shout out our slogans, but how are we to feed those millions when there is no food and we have gradually arrived at that low level? Well, we are too weak really to stand up in the world today. I tell you, an almost inevitable consequence, whatever the final emergence may be, of any process which aims at smashing up the present structure completely is the enfeebling of the nation and imperilling of our freedom, and evil people, evil forces, evil countries taking advantage of it and exploiting the situation for their own profit and advantage. I do not want that to happen. I think that this generation, and when I say this generation I mean not my generation, but the generation of the young men and young women who are sitting here, having taken their degrees, and who are going out in the life tomorrow and the day after—that this generation will be a ruined generation, if the smashing up process takes place. You, as I just said, we all are condemned to hard labour. That is true, but you can have no conception of what you will be condemned to if you start smashing up the apparatus in India today. It is possible that out of the inner strength of India something else will grow. But for the moment you give up that idea. Therefore, if you give up that idea of smashing, then you have to be wary, then you have to avoid all actions that lead to a deterioration of the situation and towards smashing up the present. Smash up the evil in it and certainly fight the evil. Therefore, you have to proceed on lines of not smashing up the structure, but changing it, and changing it as rapidly as you can.

Let me put another aspect of this before you and that is in terms of violence and nonviolence, peaceful methods and violent methods. That is



a good test because if you employ peaceful methods, even though you may employ them for wrong purposes, you are safe. The peaceful method itself is a barrier to much wrong action. A violent method might be justified against a foreign enemy or against a foreign power dominating a nation. That is another argument. As a matter of fact, even against foreigners we can employ peaceful methods. But the employment of violent methods on a domestic issue, not against a foreigner, but against some of your own people is a most dangerous thing. I am not prepared for the moment to discuss the philosophy or the theory of it or to rule it out for ever in every country, but I do say, in India as she is situated today, the employment of methods of violence is the greatest act of treason that any Indian can be guilty of, because we have got all kinds of fissiparous tendencies. We have a strong unifying force; at the same time, we have disruptive and fissiparous tendencies. We have fought communalism and we have suffered from communalism. We have provincialism; we have many other such 'isms' and separating tendencies. And now if in this field violence comes in any shape or form and people take to violent methods, then the result is that violence is smashed and quickly stopped, as indeed every government must do.

No government can take risks with violence. And I tell you from such accounts as I have heard that the Government of U.P. have been too weak in dealing with the situation here. There has been a lot of loud criticism about what is happening. If I had been in charge, I would have taken stronger action against those who have been misbehaving in the streets of Lucknow. What is this business of young men and women attacking the police and slapping them and throwing bombs and playing about with lathis.<sup>5</sup> Are our young men and women degraded to this level of vulgarity and indiscipline and lack of understanding that they behave in this way and call it freedom? It is not and has never been my conception of freedom. If you are going to do it, well, do it by all means, but you do an ill turn to your country and your city and to your nation. The things I hear that have been done are astounding and I am surprised that intelligent men and women should not see the folly of it, the criminality of it. Are we turning ourselves into a lot of hysterical persons of no understanding and doing nothing except shouting slogans without understanding? What does that mean? Is this your idea of freedom? I want you to think about it as to where we are going because no government in the wide world can tolerate this kind of thing. A government can go, another government can take its place. But if a government sees violence being done before its eyes it must suppress that

5. During a demonstration, in support of the teachers' strike in Lucknow in January 1949, some students were said to be carrying lathis and bombs with them. It was also alleged that one girl had slapped a policeman.

violence, and it will suppress it. Let there be no doubt about it. Whether men or women or children, whoever does it will be picked up. You as citizens cannot allow it, because if you do it the police will come. I want to congratulate the police of Lucknow for the way they have behaved here and the restraint they have shown. If we are slapped in the face, shall we turn the other side as Christ said? Well, if we all could do that the world would be a different place to live in. But obviously a police force is not supposed to turn the other side when it is slapped. So please understand this, please recognise these enormous problems that we have to face here, the problems that require hard work.

Now, take another matter. There is after all only a certain fixed quantity of money available to the Government of India or to the Provincial Government. We want to go far. We cannot spend the same money twice over or three or four times over. Demands come from all sides; may be we spend sometimes wrongly, but the same money cannot be spent thrice. You simply cannot spend money when there is none. You can produce money only by hard work. Therefore, the problem becomes of working hard and producing and then seeing to its proper distribution. All these problems in all these shapes have to be tackled and I want you even as students to think about them. You may not have all the facts before you, all the data before you, but nevertheless you can have the main problem to consider and your professors can help you. Then prepare yourselves for the burden that you will have to shoulder tomorrow. Students come to me and ask an old question are we to take part in politics or not? I say, of course, always. But what is politics? It is astounding that their conception of politics is to go up and down a street in a procession. Is it, as I said, that you cannot just get out of the habit of the days of British rule? When a crisis comes in the life of a country, like the great war came in the life of western countries, well, almost every student of above a certain age, whether he was in Oxford, Cambridge or London or somewhere else, offered himself or was conscripted and had to go to the war. It was a crisis in the life of a country. When India was fighting for freedom, colleges were deserted and students went out. But that was a period of crisis and peril for the nation's freedom. If such activity becomes a kind of continual motion, no good can result from it. Those people who indulge in that activity are not training themselves for any future activity of a high type; obviously not. Now India is going to be run by a large number of trained people in the future by a relatively small number of 'A' class men in every sphere—in technology, science, and other fields. In fact, the more such persons the better. Ultimately a country's standing in the world is obviously determined not by the number of people it has — crores and crores — but by the number of top-ranking men and women it has to show who



can give a proper lead and also by the number of other eminent men it has to carry on the work of a large country. It is a certain quality that counts in the end, not quantity, although quantity also is necessary in a certain measure. Now, do you realise that it is out of you are going to come or ought to come those top-ranking men and women? If the time for education is looked upon as a time for demonstration, as I said, it is a time of peril to the nation when everything has to be set aside—then you do not get prepared for the future, and then the problem that I have to face comes up before me.

Well, I tell you my biggest headache is to find 'A-1' persons in India, and sufficient numbers of them. They are very very few. Mind you, I know that there is the best and the most excellent material in India. But where have we got them? I want to tell you of the three branches of the military of which I have some experience, personal experience. I have had a lot to do with the Indian Army and the Navy and the Air Force, and it is my opinion and it has been confirmed by expert foreign opinion, that the young Indian officer in our defence services is first class—first class not merely in discipline but in the quality of his mind. That is important. Warfare has ceased now to be merely a matter of gymnastics and drill. It is the quality of the mind that counts in this business, and we have been told by very eminent judges that they have been surprised at the quality of mind of the young Indian officer. Now that is a comfort. I have not mentioned the other qualities like courage and daring. They are very good, they are very necessary, but after all, ultimately it is the quality of mind that counts, even above courage and daring.

Take another example. I am also dealing with the department of scientific research in the Government of India to some extent indirectly and rarely directly. I come across and I hear about young scientists. My own impression is, and again that has been confirmed by expert opinion, that we have got a very fine band of young scientists of the first quality, and further that if there were opportunities in our laboratories and universities, for further teaching and proper directions, we would have many more of the first rank. The quality is there, but it has to be developed. Whenever I have come in touch with students I have found quality, potential quality, becoming actual given a chance. So, on the one side there is this quality, on the other the diversion of people's minds to activities which prevent them from developing such quality as they may have. This very important tussle is going on in the mind of India and I want you, therefore, to look at this problem in its entirety and see not merely what is right or wrong, but where you must throw your entire weight.

Now finally, I want to put before you another aspect of this problem, although it has many aspects, and that is, if I may say so, the moral aspect.



It is my belief and conviction that the world's problems today are not just going to be solved by financial or economic means or purely, by what I might call, political means. At the back of them lies a tremendous conflict of the spirit which is reflected in other conflicts, economic or political. Whether it is solved today or tomorrow—unless this conflict of the spirit is solved—there is going to be no peace on earth or in any country. And it is well for us to remember this at all times and especially today.

Day after tomorrow is the first anniversary of the death of Mahatma Gandhi. A year has passed since he died. It has been a hard year for all of us, for the country, and yet, I suppose, his death has made us think of some of the things he stood for even more than when he was alive and I believe that fundamentally what he stood for, unless we understand it and act up to it, we are not going to succeed; or if I may put it positively, that if we understand it and act up to it, we are bound to succeed. So I wish to stress this moral aspect both in its world context and in our more immediate context of India. After all, we have to function in this field. It is a big enough field for India.

There is a great deal of talk of India's leadership here and there. I discourage this talk. It is just pompous nonsense, talking about leadership. Let us look after ourselves, and if we look after ourselves properly we shall have opportunities of serving other countries, not in any terms of leadership and imposing ourselves on them, but because they themselves will come and seek our service. But before we seek to serve others or guide others, we must be in a position to do so. India has attained a great name in the world of today for various reasons, but the most important of those reasons is Mahatma Gandhi. It was he who gave this great stature to India, and that stature was not given because of India's army or navy or wealth but because this giant among men suddenly showed up the moral pettiness of the politicians of the world. So India gained this place because people thought of India in certain moral terms. And they were right in the sense that India had produced Gandhi, though most of us were petty people unworthy even of following him. So let us think of this problem in this context of morality, and again I come back to this that we may differ, as we do, and I do not mind our differing—but whether we differ or not we must be clear in our own mind about this, that we should not stoop to any low or violent means. We are not going to make our country great by exhibitions of vulgarity and lowliness of action and sporadic violence. Violence is bad enough when nations indulge in it against each other in a war. But violence becomes infinitely worse and degrading in the narrow domestic sphere of street violence and the like. Therefore, I would beg of you to consider all this and to realise, that if we are living in a time of great moment for our country and the world, a very great responsibility is thrust upon us to

understand this question in order to think of how to solve it and act rightly in this context. *Jai Hind*.

## 6. No Room for Indiscipline<sup>1</sup>

I am amidst you after about seven months of trials and tribulations during which we solved many problems and left some unsolved, and also many new problems cropped up. The British had left us a heritage of baffling problems, which were further increased by the partition of the country, a war and large number of refugees who trekked into our land. And above all these, we had the supreme problem of ameliorating the economic conditions of our people.

We had ambitious plans to give a new face to our country, but surrounded as we were with these problems we could not even start work on them. Moreover, the refugee problem heavily drained our resources.

The proper tackling of a single problem is a difficult task in itself, and we are faced with very many of them. Naturally, you can easily make a list of our drawbacks and failings, tasks which we did not accomplish or those which we left undone. We like that, and we are prepared to learn from the problems we have tackled. The partition of the country soon after the achievement of independence resulted in the uprooting of about sixty lakhs of persons and created problems unprecedented in world history. All the energy and resources of the government which normally could have been utilised for the betterment of the condition of the masses were diverted to the immediate task of providing relief for the refugees and rehabilitating them. Central and Provincial Governments have taken prompt and effective measures in that direction and already about 45 lakhs, roughly about three-fourth of the refugee population have been resettled in U.P. and elsewhere and I have no doubt that the rest will also be rehabilitated in a short period. And this is no small achievement.

The magnitude of the task has not been, perhaps, realised by the people. In Palestine there were about 7,00,000 Arab refugees, but the rehabilitation still remains undone, though the Arabs have the financial support and sympathy of the entire world through the agency of the U.N.O. In

1. Address at a public meeting at Lucknow, 28 January 1949. From *National Herald*, 29 January and *The Hindu*, 30 January 1949.



India we solved this gigantic problem all by ourselves without any kind of aid from outside. Similarly other problems are being solved and would be solved in the near future. We cannot solve them immediately; we do not have a magic wand.

No problems can be solved by government action alone. For that there must be active public cooperation. That is the way of democratic governments. Ours is not a *ma-bap* government administration like that of the British who only aimed at maintaining peace and realising their revenues. Ours is a government which is pledged to bring about the economic amelioration of the people's lot. They have to undertake what are known as social works, besides running the administration. These can be done only with the active cooperation of the people.

Today, there are many people whose aim is to spread disruption, and Lucknow, it seems, has during the last few days earned a notoriety for creating vulgar disturbances.<sup>2</sup> I hear that some refugees are creating mischief at the meeting.<sup>3</sup> I want to tell the refugees that their mischief and vulgarity will not be tolerated any more. They will be turned out of Lucknow if they do not behave peacefully. We all have sympathy for them but not with their vulgarity and misbehaviour.

Instead of being grateful to the Government of India and the Provincial Government for the service rendered, some refugees seem to be out for mischief. Let them know it that we will deal strongly with them if they attempt to disturb the peace of the province. If the refugees do not want to stay in this city or the province they are free to go outside.

I know there are some who are engineering this mischief. I do not know whether they are Communists or some others. Anyhow, anyone indulging in violence would be strongly dealt with and I hope that the public would cooperate with the Government in doing so. I would specially ask the press to do so, since the press has suppressed facts in Lucknow. Recently, during the students' trouble,<sup>4</sup> the Lucknow police dealt with the situation very mildly, and not strongly, as was published, in the papers. I am not prepared to pilot a government in which the policemen are attacked and insulted. I am not prepared to run such an administration for a single day if unruly elements are to get an upperhand and are allowed to create disorder in the country.

I can tolerate movements for wrong causes, but they must be peaceful and nonviolent. If we want a great future for our country, we must at

2. A group of refugees clashed with the police in the university area after taking out a procession through Lucknow streets and chanting slogans abusive of Nehru.
3. Some demonstrators pushed people about to cause confusion at the meeting.
4. On 15 January the police made a lathi charge on a procession of students taken out in sympathy with the District Board teachers who were on strike. A number of students were injured and arrested.



least agree on the fundamental principle that we shall practise truth and nonviolence in the realm of politics.

I want you to understand that there are some people whose main occupation is to instigate people to mischief. Take for instance the teachers' strike.<sup>5</sup> All of us have sympathy with the lot of the teachers and the U.P. Government are themselves very sympathetic and doing their utmost for them. But the problem cannot be solved through lawlessness and the teachers will spoil their cause if they do not get rid of their present leadership, which is continually inciting them to trouble.

If the teachers create trouble, we will have to dispense with them. We cannot hand over our children to such persons who themselves are undisciplined. I am ashamed at the lot of the teachers, but I expect them to control themselves and behave more patiently. If the teachers cannot control themselves, how can they control our children with whom lies the destiny of the nation? Then we will have to think of recruiting new teachers and to replan our education system. Only a disciplined man can impart education and none other. The teachers have to teach the students not only reading and writing but to maintain discipline and build up moral character.

Today we hold the posts of responsibility. After a year fresh elections will be held and if you are discontented with us you can elect new men. Besides, we are here only for a few years more. We are old and we too will die. Who will succeed us then and shoulder the responsibilities? Education is not only a training for an occupation but for shouldering the burdens of a free country. I run the administration and I know how difficult it is to get the right type of people to do the work. It is a problem to find them, and that is why the right type of education is very essential. Young men and women have to prepare themselves for this task with sufficient scientific and technical knowledge, or they will not be able to play their role effectively.

Mahatma Gandhi knew it and he had drawn up plans for basic education. I quite realise that it is wrong to ask low-paid teachers to perform their job efficiently but, all the same, it is the right type of education which goes to make a nation strong and prosperous. America and England have progressed so much not because their people have an inherently superior brain than ours. If opportunities are provided to our young men they can do equally great work like their counterparts in America and England. England and America have progressed for they undertook vast plans of

5. The United Provinces District Board teachers launched a strike for higher wages on 1 January 1949 involving 25,000 teachers. The strike was called off on 8 February. See also Nehru's letter to G.B. Pant, 17 January 1949, section 1, sub-section I, p. 94.

educational expansion and trained up young men, who in return, helped increase production in the country and thus increase national wealth.

Britain was a weak country after the war and its prosperity boom was over. Today all Englishmen are living on austerity standards, poor and rich alike. Wealthy people there are, better than our wealthy people, for Englishmen are more patriotic and know how to work in cooperation. Today all Englishmen are working whole-heartedly for increased production. Our task in India is not as difficult as that of the people of England. But unfortunately, our people do not know how to behave like free people. Students want a reduction in fees, teachers want more pay. But from where will all this money come if there is no increase in production?

To raise the living standard of the common people we must increase production and take steps to distribute the wealth equitably. The basic fact to be borne in mind is that unless the wealth which is to be distributed is increased through more production, mere changes in the present system of distribution will not make any difference in the present conditions.

People want their taxes and fees to be reduced. As a counter-measure they suggested more taxation on the rich. We want to tax the rich and we are taxing them today. There is a heavy rate of taxation in which, above a certain income, we take fifteen annas in a rupee. There has been a lot of tax evasion during the last few years indeed, but for that we have appointed a commission which is investigating the cases.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, we are amending the income-tax laws to bring the tax-evaders to book and to make it impossible for them to evade payment of taxes in future.

Strikes can rightly be resorted to at some moments, but a strike today will mean less production. It will, in turn, mean pauperisation of the worker, for by resorting to strike, he would put obstacles in the way of his own demands for more pay being conceded. Pay cannot be increased until there is increased production.

There is talk of a railway strike which, I hope, will not come off.<sup>7</sup> But consider the consequences of a railway strike. If it were successful it would paralyse the economic life of the country. But I am amazed at the irresponsible and selfish way in which some people talk of their demands and care two hoots if the country went to the dogs as a result of their actions.

6. An Income Tax Investigation Commission was appointed in February 1948 under the chairmanship of S. Varadachari to examine how far the existing laws for assessment and collection of taxes were adequate to prevent evasion.
7. The All India Railwaymen's Federation, under the chairmanship of Jayaprakash Narayan, proposed to begin a strike on 25 November 1948 for the fulfilment of its demands. Negotiations continued thereafter, and on 20 January 1949, after a ballot, a call was given to start an all-India railway strike on 9 March. But the union was divided in opinion and the partial strike failed. See also section 8, letter no. 6, fn. 9.



No group or section of the population should develop such an irresponsible attitude of strangulating the nation to death for their sectional interests.

I know the difficulties of all our people but the most hard-hit are the middle-class people with fixed incomes; though our people, in general, have a low standard of living. The kisans are slightly better off than before though the lot of agricultural labour is bad. Industrial labour is also slightly better off than before, though I want them to be paid still better.

But increased wages for one come from the pockets of the other. And so what is to be spent must be produced. Anyone who hinders or stops production today, therefore, not only betrays the country but puts a hindrance in his own demand for higher wages.

Our food situation is acute and we have to import foodgrains from abroad.<sup>8</sup> It is shameful. For foodgrains we have to pay high prices to other countries since we cannot see our people starving. Added to the already worsening food situation are floods and famines. In Madras and Gujarat there is famine already.<sup>9</sup> However, we are sure that we will tide over the difficulties by bringing more land under cultivation and by building extensive irrigation works. The Government has already taken up great hydro-electric projects and other plans to utilise the natural resources of the country. We have plans for doing so, and after five or ten years you will find a new India where there will be no famines or floods to threaten the security of our people. But all these plans need much for implementation. You should, therefore, try to study the country's problems and cooperate in solving them. That would be no favour to anyone but your duty towards the country.

Our problems cannot be solved by indulging in vulgar demonstrations and acts of indiscipline, and such acts cannot be tolerated. There may be bad points about the United Provinces. If you want to change the present Government then try to do so; but do it peacefully and nonviolently. For, by being indisciplined and violent you help the people who want to disrupt Indian unity and smash up the present structure of the society. This would most certainly bring chaos, confusion and misery for the people.

I can tolerate any movement, whether for a right or a wrong cause, if it is peaceful. But if it is indisciplined and vulgar I cannot tolerate it. The present trend towards indiscipline and vulgarity must be stopped. The public must realise that there is a set of people aiming at the disruption of

8. Four million tonnes of foodgrains were imported in 1949.

9. Famine condition was prevailing in Madras since 1943, and in 1946 Madras was declared a scarcity area due to consecutive monsoon failure. Late in 1948, along with Madras, the whole coastal belt of Gujarat, parts of Saurashtra and Kachchh were threatened with acute famine.



the country, who engineer such vulgar demonstrations from behind the scenes. Incidents of the past few days in Lucknow point towards a disastrous future, for our young men are indulging in demonstrations without any conviction or plan of their own.

We have to fight and face these tendencies, specially our young people will have to do so. For, in spite of our failings and drawbacks, we are rising in the estimation of the peoples of the world. Asia looks up to us and wants us to be its leader. People of other countries feel that a new star has risen on the world horizon and that star is free India. All this is due to Bapu, the Father of the Nation. But how long can we draw upon the good name of Bapu? Let us, therefore, pledge not to do things which would bring a bad name to our nation. We can have differences but if we agree on the fundamental tenet that we will follow only truth and non-violence in the field of politics, we can still have a great future for ourselves.

## 7. Strikes no Solution<sup>1</sup>

I shall look into all the local complaints you put before me,<sup>2</sup> but you must know something about the main problems of the country, because you are living in a democracy. If you do not acquaint yourselves with the current developments and the issues involved, how can you exercise your vote? I have all sympathy for the demands of employees. But I do not like the idea that in the event of non-fulfilment of your demands you should strike work. These strikes would do you no good but would cause immense harm to the country.

It is necessary to pool the resources of the country to increase production, both agricultural and industrial. If concerted efforts are not made for the increase of production of the country, which is its real wealth, the people would not be able to pay to the Government taxes and revenues. And when there are no efforts to increase the income-tax paying capacity of the people how can the Government make appreciable increases in the emoluments of its employees?

1. Speech at Narela Political Conference, New Delhi, 5 February 1949. From *The Hindustan Times* and *National Herald*, 6 February 1949.
2. The residents of Narela, a village 25 miles from Delhi, complained of high prices, the eviction of tenants by landlords, and the lack of a democratic administration. They demanded prohibition of sale of liquor in the town.

The great river valley projects, which had to be shelved owing to disturbances, can be taken up only if there is peace in the country. Thus in every way the people must act up to Gandhiji's teachings so that the country can achieve real Swaraj under which there will be equal rights and opportunities for all and poverty and unemployment will be eliminated.

Our country has gained a distinguished position among the war-tired nations of the world who looked to us for help in their darkest days. But how much we have degraded our own country immediately after the attainment of independence by indulging in acts of communal frenzy and by killing the very man who got us freedom and raised us internationally by his philosophy of nonviolence and truth! We have retrieved our position to a great extent now and hope that with the honest cooperation of our people we will overcome our difficulties.

The advocates of strikers should find out an approach to the question by meeting together in a conference, but if they think that that is not possible, they can refer the dispute to a disinterested arbitrator, whose verdict will be binding on all the parties.

The people and particularly the refugees should not be impatient if, for reasons of emergency, questions relating to their interests have not been given top priority.

A glorious future awaits India and we should not try to destroy the grandeur of our country which has to play an important role in the world politics of tomorrow. Already some of the Asian nations finding themselves in trouble have looked to us for help and in certain cases we have already given a lead. Only recently we took an initiative in the Indonesian question and I am confident that we shall succeed and save the independence of our neighbour.

## 8. The Need for Publicity<sup>1</sup>

Publicity is an exceedingly important branch of the functions of any democratic government, in fact of any government whether democratic or not. It must not only keep in close touch with the people, but seek their co-operation. The old type of state, which did not concern itself very much

1. Speech at the Inter-Provincial Conference of Information Ministers, New Delhi, 7 February 1949. From *The Hindustan Times*, 8 February 1949.



with social problems except when it was forced to, did not need this type of close contact or publicity. But we have to deal today with vast problems—social and economic. It just does not matter how we frame our policies here or in the provincial governments. Unless we get the cooperation of the public and understanding on the part of the people of what is being done, our programmes will not go very far.

There are two types of criticisms. One is an understanding criticism and the other criticism just for criticism's sake without understanding what is happening. It is, therefore, essential that we should take the people into our confidence as to what we are doing and what we intend to do.

Take any form of constructive activity—our big schemes of hydro-electric power and river valley schemes, for example. They are all of basic importance and should be explained in detail and as simply as possible with facts and figures.

Yesterday I went to Hastinapur in Meerut district and visited the Ganga Khadhar<sup>2</sup> area where the United Provinces Government have started a big scheme of rehabilitation, colonising and irrigation. Every stage of the scheme will arouse interest. On a large piece of land, which has been lying waste and which is perhaps more or less malaria-ridden, the Government have started a scheme of reclamation. The first thing they will do is to rid the place of malaria. Then this scheme will become a good paying proposition. And, incidentally, it will provide for a considerable number of refugees.

I suggest to you that these are matters of great public interest. I do not mean that you should exaggerate but give the facts. Care should be taken to write as objectively as possible with no flourish of language, no exaggeration of facts and figures. We are today faced with a large number of problems. The right way to deal with these, basically and fundamentally, is to make our people generally realise how these fundamental problems are being dealt with on a constructive basis.

Education today, especially mass education, has been in some places revolutionized by the use of documentary films. I think documentary films are very important for mass education from a very large number of other viewpoints. Other countries use documentary films very largely both for what is called cultural propaganda and education. Something can be done by the Governmental agency in this respect.

2. The Ganga Khadhar scheme started in December 1947 by the U.P. Government with Central aid, aimed at reclamation of nearly 50,000 acres of fertile, low-lying land near the Ganga for distribution among the landless refugees for cultivation.





BUILDING NEW INDIA

II. Economic Policy





## 1. Statistical Methods in Administration<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister stated that with the object of improving the efficiency of administration, modern statistical methods could be employed in many fields for checking up the effectiveness of different measures and for investigating the best manner of securing basic information for the formulation of policy. In other countries considerable use was being made of advanced statistical technique for purposes of this kind. It was desirable that similar attempts should be made in India. He, therefore, suggested that Professor P.C. Mahalanobis should be appointed Statistical Adviser to advise the Cabinet in the matter. He would be assisted by a small staff and would work in cooperation with the Economic and Statistical Coordination Section of the Cabinet Secretariat. The Prime Minister further stated that Professor Mahalanobis would have purely advisory functions.

1. Remarks at a Cabinet meeting, 6 January 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

## 2. To John Matthai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
17 January 1949

My dear Matthai,

I have your letter of January 17 about the G.G.'s speech in Bombay.<sup>2</sup>

I think it would have been better if anything said on this subject had been previously drafted with care so as to avoid any misconception.

There is no essential conflict in what you and he said, but there are certain differences in emphasis. After your speech in Calcutta,<sup>3</sup> with which basically I agree, there was some consternation in many people's minds as they understood it to mean that our policy was not to lower prices but to

1. J.N. Collection.
2. On 10 January 1949 Rajagopalachari declared at Bombay that "the Finance Minister of the Government of India informed me definitely that it is not the intention of the Government to stabilize prices at the present levels." The statement was strongly criticised in the press.
3. In his speech at Calcutta Matthai had said that "the immediate objective was to stabilize rather than curtail prices."

stabilize them more or less at their present levels. That of course was not your meaning. If prices are stabilized more or less at these levels, then our argument about postponing increments in dearness allowance does not hold good. The fact is that apart from the merits of any proposal, one has always to think in terms of two entirely different types of audiences whose interests are somewhat conflicting in this matter. If one stresses one aspect, this soothes one group and upsets the other, and vice versa.

You may be interested to know of a recent incident. A member of the Socialist Party was addressing a peasant audience and he criticised the Government strongly for not bringing down the prices of foodgrains. Now, that kind of argument would have pleased a city audience but the peasant audience was thoroughly annoyed and pushed him away from the platform for daring to suggest any such thing.

I suppose the two aspects have to be equally emphasized; one, to check firmly the upward tendency and in that sense stabilize for the moment and secondly, as a next stage to bring down prices gradually but also definitely.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To John Matthai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
23 January 1949

My dear Matthai,

The enclosed reproduction from an article<sup>2</sup> in the *Manchester Guardian* might interest you. I think it is a good article and it does present the normal view of the intelligent person abroad. There is a strong feeling that while we are trying our hardest, we are not touching the real problem and we are neglecting nation-building activities. I am distressed about this.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J. N. Collection.

2. The *Manchester Guardian* on 13 January 1949, commented that India would not be able to maintain its image before the world and might fall prey to Communist propaganda if "social and economic reorganization on the largest scale" was not undertaken.

4. To Baldev Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
24 January 1949

My dear Baldev Singh,

I enclose a copy of a letter<sup>2</sup> I have received from the Finance Minister about the Defence Budget estimates for 1949-50. I must say that I entirely agree with him. I realise the necessity of the Defence Budget and the difficulty, in present circumstances, of reducing it considerably. Nevertheless, the fact remains that it is out of all proportion to our income and it means starving all our other important work. It will be difficult to explain to the public. Ultimately defence depends on a sound economy and on the growth of industry, etc.

I think the Defence Ministry must go all out to bring their figure down to that suggested by the Finance Minister, that is, 155 crores. The Finance Minister has obviously tried his utmost to meet the demands of the Defence Ministry. I am sure that it should be possible to reduce your estimates and to economise during this vital year when we cannot allow inflationary and like tendencies to increase.

If you and the Finance Minister agree about this, then for the present the matter need not be considered by Cabinet. Otherwise it will have to be put up before Cabinet.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J. N. Collection.

2. John Matthai wrote on 24 January that the defence budget estimates for 1949-50 were likely to be 155 crores in place of the previous year's 120 crores. The Defence Ministry's proposal of an aggregate expenditure of 168 crores meant an increase of 13 crores and he hoped Nehru could "persuade the Defence Ministry to bring it down."



## 5. Economic Policy<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Mookerjee and Members of the Advisory Council for Industries.

I am grateful to you for inviting me here to address this Council; not that I propose to take too much of your time or to discuss the many difficult and intricate problems that you have before you, but rather to say something which I think is equally important and which may be said to be the background of all these problems.

We, as a Government, have had to face very difficult situations and problems in the course of the last year and a half. I think it may be said that in regard to some of them we have succeeded largely in solving them. In regard to others, we are on the way to solving them. In regard to others still, I do not know if we are on the way to solving them. I would put the problems that you have before you in the last two categories. Undoubtedly, in whatever field of activity we look in regard to India, whether in terms of peace or war, ultimately the foundation must be a strong economic position of the country: everything else depends upon that. If the foundation is not strong, then the superstructure may not last; it may tumble down to pieces.

Now, the first thing that I think we should aim at is this: perfect frankness with ourselves and with the people of this country. I do not believe in our trying to hide the facts of the present situation. That is not the way to meet them. I think in this and in many other matters we might well follow the example that has been set by the Government of the United Kingdom, who have taken their people into their confidence, put their difficulties before them and asked for their support in getting over those difficulties. There are undoubtedly difficulties before us, serious ones, and yet, at the same time, when I view those difficulties and our own resources and our own strength of will to deal with them, I have not the shadow of a doubt that we shall overcome them and go ahead. If I had that doubt in my mind, I do not think I would continue in the place I am. But I want to tell you with all honesty and straightforwardness that we, as a Government, are in no sense dispirited or despondent even in regard to this economic situation. We propose to go ahead as rapidly, but much more important, as soundly and as firmly as possible, not only in the hope, but with the conviction, that we are going to grapple with it and solve it. I do hope you do not think that I am indulging in pious platitudes, because I do not wish to do so.

1. Speech at the first session of the Central Advisory Council of Industries, New Delhi, 24 January 1949. File No. 26 (68)/49, PMS.

During the last year and a half, we have been considering all these multitude of problems that face any great country, much more so a country which has started on a new career of freedom and which has had to face an accumulation of old problems plus new problems; new problems caused by war, the Partition and so many other reasons. How far we have succeeded or how far we have failed you may judge; the people of this country will judge; and ultimately history will judge. For, after all, it is, as it must be, a balance of successes and failures. Nobody would presume to say that this Government has acted always rightly or wisely. Nobody, I dare say, can say that we have not tried to do our utmost and have not succeeded in a large measure in many things. Therefore, watching this balance at the present moment, if we look back, we can form our different opinions as to whether we have erred or we have succeeded. The point is that we must profit by our experience of trial and error, of success and failure. It would be a great folly for us as a Government to think that we must pursue a certain course of action even though past experience tells us that it has not been the right one or the successful one. We, therefore, propose to profit by that experience, to profit by the advice that we get from others, conscious always that we are as liable to error or not.

Now, you are going in this conference to deal with some of the most vital problems that we have to face, basic economic problems of production distribution, etc. In regard to these problems there is a great variety of opinion. In fact, in most countries political and other parties are formed holding one set of opinions or another. No doubt, in our own country also as we go ahead practising the democratic process, parties of this kind will grow and will press a particular economic solution for this or that problem. I do not wish to go into that question except to say this : that, first of all, whatever economic doctrine one may have in view as an ideal or practice, it depends on certain factors; it does not function in the air. It depends upon your resources, your ability to give effect to that doctrine or that policy. You may consider in an academic way, as they do in schools and colleges, a certain policy in the air more or less. But when as a Government you have to apply it, you have to take into consideration a hundred practical factors, among them being the resources you possess and the resources more specially in trained human material. In the ultimate analysis, nothing is more important for a country than trained human material; everything else is secondary. If India has got that trained human material, or if she is going to produce that trained human material, it is well, else I do not know what will happen to India. If you have not got that trained human material, all your policies, resolutions and other expressions of opinions do not mean much, because you have not got the wherewithal to give effect to any policy effectively. You know your India as well as I know



my India and you can judge for yourselves whether we have got that trained human material. The type of trained human material one requires in the constructive activities of a nation is not always the same as the type of human material that politics throw up in our assemblies and the like. Political material is important, of course. It lays down policies, draws up our laws, etc. Nevertheless, it has to be realised that a country cannot be run by politics alone and by politicians alone. In the course of the last year and a half I have come across many sections of Indian humanity, more especially those who have been trained for a particular purpose, and have formed some opinion about them which I propose to tell you.

Behind the tremendous malaise and uneasiness of mind, doubts and uncertainty in the minds of our young men and medley of facts, I have found definitely a very high standard of potential. Somehow or other the malaise comes in the way and does not allow that potential to become actual rapidly enough. It is becoming so, though not with the rapidity with which I would like it to become so. I have come across, more especially in the course of my duties, various types of persons. There is the army—I am not thinking for the moment from the point of view of warfare but just of human material. I have come in contact with a very large number of our young men in our defence services, army, air force and navy. I have also seen very competent observers here and from abroad examine these people in the army and give their opinions. I think, again, purely from the point of view of standards of ability, our young men in the army are an exceedingly bright lot—bright not because they wear attractive uniforms or sometimes talk in a rather exaggerated accent and the like which I dislike intensely—but bright essentially because they have got active and alert minds. The old conception of the army, the brass-hat conception of course, is no good anywhere. Observers, who know what they are talking about, have told us and I have found myself in agreement with them, that our young men in the army represent potentially and to some extent actually a higher standard than in any army they have seen in the world. Now, again, I am talking of the human material we have got.

Take again—a highly important group—our scientific workers. I have had something to do with scientists in India and the conclusion I have arrived at is this that while everything is not right with our science and it requires improvement, two things are quite certain. One is that we have some, a few topmost scientists in this country who can do the highest kinds of work. Secondly, we have a very fine lot of young scientists who, I regret to say, do not always get the opportunity to go ahead but who will no doubt get that opportunity. So again in the scientific field the material is extraordinarily good.

These are the fields that count in the present and much more so in the future. Coming to another—an entirely different and separate department



with which I have been intimately concerned—our Ministry of External Affairs—we have had to build it up from scratch. In the last year and a half we have naturally tried to choose the best available talent and gradually to train it. A foreign service takes a long time to grow, and no doubt we have much to learn still, but again I think, I can say with some assurance that the young men and women in our foreign service can compare with any such anywhere in the world. Now, I just gave you three examples—and I gave those particular ones—because I myself have been personally connected with these more than with others and I have no doubt that those examples can be duplicated in other departments of our national activities, so that, so far as human material is concerned, I think we can rest assured that we have got it in this country, whether it is scientific, technical, managerial or any type of skilled work—we have got them. So far as other resources are concerned, everybody knows that India is a country full of wealth, or potential wealth.

Now then, if we have this potential wealth and we have got the manpower available actually and potentially, then the problem before us is how to yoke the two. It is not an easy problem, but when the main things that are necessary are there, I have no doubt that the problem will be solved—and, if I may say so, fairly rapidly solved—because every ingredient is there and all the powers in the country will go towards solving that. Therefore I have an infinite faith in the future of India. Let there be no doubt about it. I may occasionally doubt or dislike many things that happened and there are many things that are happening which are not agreeable and among those are some which are more psychological than anything else. I do not like the temper of the country today as a whole; I do not like the temper of the industrialists today as a whole; I do not like the temper of labour today as a whole; let us be frank about it. You may add if you like that you do not like the temper of the Government as a whole. But it is a fact that you can go on discussing your problems in detail separately but one of the main problems today for us to face is the psychological problem. It is not completely an Indian problem—it is an international problem—and it exists in all countries as a result of all kinds of developments but we have to face it in India with our peculiar conditions.

Somehow the mind of the country is not directed towards solving our other problems but is directed in narrow grooves, towards doing this or that to gain an advantage here or there for a particular group. It is said, and I suppose rightly said, that capital is sullen and nervous and it does not know what is going to happen, and the word nationalisation is thrown about as a kind of bogey. So far as labour is concerned, it on many occasions is undoubtedly deserving of great sympathy. Undoubtedly it suffers great handicaps. At the same time there is little doubt that quite

apart from the hardships they may be suffering, there is a temper in labour today which I consider highly injurious for the good of the country. It is a temper which does not look far ahead, which is not too much interested even in working efficiently and increasing production, which has got somehow uprooted from any firm stand and thinks that this is the best time to gain particular advantages which may or may not for the moment be justified. I am not concerned with the merits of the question but with the temper. Threats come to us about strikes and the rest. Strikes are a well-known and often justifiable weapon of labour. So long as the social order is not changed and so long as an efficient alternative for the strike is not there and given effect to see that injustice is not done to labour, the strike as a weapon must inevitably remain with labour. Either the country produces an alternative for the strike by social conditions which will avoid the strike or the strike remains. You cannot isolate this business either from the labour side or from the industrial side and view it as something apart from the conditions that prevail in the country.

Now it is plain to any person who gives the least thought to it that any major industrial upheaval in the country is going to do a lot of injury not only to the country as a whole, but to particular groups and especially the working classes for the moment. I do not know what in the distant future it might result in. You have to decide whether you wish to bring about changes in the country by a sudden and complete upset or by some other process. Each person must be clear in his own mind about it. It is no good getting entangled with both the processes at the same time. Now a sudden and complete upset may have some advantages, no doubt, because you may think that you can write on a clean slate after that, although in life there is no clean slate ever; even after a complete upset you do not have a clean slate; you have a very smudgy slate after that. Nevertheless you may have a freer hand to move, perhaps. You need not rule that out but in considering this sudden and complete upset one should balance the advantages with the disadvantages. Sometimes where there is no other way, one takes that course realising the tremendous disadvantages that will flow from it, because it does not mean the upsetting of a whole generation. It does not mean quick results. Though it means that a whole generation goes by, when you again start building from the bottom, may be you build more rapidly and more effectively and soundly, but then the next generation perhaps sees the building itself. The alternative to this sudden and quick upset and complete upset is some other method which should be as quick as possible but which has an element of continuity about it so that the gains the society has are not lost in the process of change.

Those are the only two methods; of course, you can vary them or emphasise this aspect or that aspect. Now, I think that it would be folly for



us in India to think in terms of a sudden and complete upset. It would be folly for a number of reasons. Reason number one: immediately and in the next few years, or may be for many years to come, it would mean no improvement in anybody's condition, but a lowering of everything. Reason number two: it might imperil our freedom itself, our political freedom and independence. Therefore, for the sake of something that might possibly happen in the fairly distant future, we imperil our freedom today and decide to live on a very much reduced scale. And when I say "we", I am talking about the general mass of our countrymen who are already on a low level. For my part I do not see how a sudden break can help them and therefore, I discard it. The other course left open to us is to have a certain continuity and have as rapid an improvement as possible, keeping that continuity going. Now, opinions may differ as to how best that can be done, but then the fundamental fact is accepted that there should be continuity. Change on the basis of continuity and difference of opinion, though great, is not vital. One's own opinion may change. I may change my views. It all depends on the circumstances and on so many social forces that are at work. All these things go to fashion policy ultimately.

I mentioned this business of nationalisation and the apprehensiveness of capital and of some others. Now, first of all, may I say that I have neither any sympathy nor any admiration for the people who are nervous and fearful of anything happening. Having been accustomed throughout my life to taking risks, I like the man who takes risks, and the man who is nervous and especially nervous in financial matters does not extract or extort my admiration. But quite apart from that, if I may say so with all respect, in the world today the nervous and fearful individual is not likely to win the race anywhere. It is the men and the women who have guts in them, who have some spirit of adventure and of enterprise, who do not bewail their lot, but go ahead despite depressions, they are likely to win in whatever class of society they might be.

Is it becoming, I put it to you, for people with high capacity and intelligence to get excited and nervous and start complaining that something might happen, because some speech had been delivered by somebody which frightened them out of their wits? You have to listen too many speeches, and strong speeches, I may tell you; and among those who deliver speeches will be the Prime Minister also. If we are frightened by speeches, how are we going to face facts which are much more important and difficult?

Look at the world today. How odd it is, how quickly it is changing. Whether you like it or not, things are happening all over—big things are happening. We have to adjust ourselves to them, and not merely adjust ourselves, but also look a little ahead so that we may not be dragged in the wake of others, but we may pull or push others in the right direction.



Now, therefore, this business of capital being sullen is a thing which does not do great credit to the holders of capital. I know the holders of capital are not just a few persons. It is spread out over a large number of persons, and a large number of the middle-class folk are the investors in this country. But, nevertheless, I think the lead is given often by the people at the top, and I should like them to consider that living as we do, in this changing social order all over the world—as Dr. Mookerjee quoted,<sup>2</sup> even that high priest of the existing order, the President of the United States, speaks in a language in which probably no President of the United States has ever spoken.<sup>3</sup> When all this is happening, no one can talk about petrifying the present conditions or keeping them static. No government can talk in those terms or can act in those terms. If it talks in those terms, it is not speaking the truth, because no government can control the future. Nobody can. No government can say how long it will continue to be a government. But quite apart from that, no government can guarantee the future in a changing, dynamic world. It cannot say that it will lay down certain policies to which it will adhere with all its strength. If you talk about guarantees, then you do not appreciate the changing nature of the world today and of India which is undergoing this great transformation.

Take nationalisation. Nationalisation is ultimately not going to be governed by any policy laid down by this Government so much as by external factors. Neither those who oppose nationalisation are going to stop the process, nor those who wish to push it ahead regardless of consequences are likely to make much of it. Ultimately external factors will govern this process.

Generally speaking, as has been declared repeatedly, our policy is—and it is the only wise policy—to direct all our energies—apart from those basic industries which Dr. Mookerjee referred to<sup>4</sup>—to direct our energies in increasing productivity, and not in seizing hold of existing institutions and things which are functioning, but rather in applying such resources as Government has to do something new so that we may add to what is already in existence. Of course, occasions may arise when in regard to a particular matter we may have to do it, but generally we want increased production and if Government have certain resources, why should they just apply it to transfer of ownership, rather than apply it to tapping fresh productive

2. In his presidential address on 24 January Syama Prasad Mookerjee had said that even in the United States “the necessity for state intervention in industry under certain circumstances is recognised.”
3. President Truman’s message to the Congress in early January recommended legislation to check inflationary pressures and to provide production facilities “if action by private industry fails to meet our needs.”
4. S.P. Mookerjee mentioned textiles, food, steel, cement, engineering and chemicals.

sources? But all this depends, as I said, on the growing situation in the country and what social forces there are. As far as I can see, any kind of a full nationalisation cannot take place effectively, for a fair number of years, except for those noted industries that we have stated. This is a big enough job for us. If we build those up, then the government of the day can by this and other means exercise a powerful control on many other factors.

But in addition to this, it is quite inevitable that if there is to be any kind of planning—there must be—we simply cannot leave things unplanned now with various controls and the rest. And planning means coordination, adjustment and certain measure of control; we just cannot do without it whether it is in private industry or nationalised industry. Now, I put it to you, therefore, that in the present context, it does not do much good to any group to think too much in terms of its own present interests or what it thinks its present interests to be. They may be justified, and you may have a good deal of merit behind your argument, but the fact remains that unless we try to pull together and get over the psychological difficulty that we have got, we shall not get moving in spite of our committees and conferences.

I do not want any one of you, whether you represent labour or capital, to give up your own particular ideology or way of approach to any problem. I do not mind at all a conflict of ideologies because out of the conflict something new emerges. I am entirely averse to any ideas or ideologies being extinguished or not allowed to function. I am not asking you, whether you represent capital or labour or any other group, to change your minds, or to give up your convictions on the subject, whatever they are. If they are well thought-out convictions, stick to them.

But do two things. First of all, try to think in larger terms, of India and of the world as a whole. Secondly, there should be clear realisation that we must avoid, at all times and at all costs, industrial strife, and try to find an effective method for settling industrial troubles whatever they may be. We have tried to find them; and if they are not wholly satisfactory, let us improve upon them. But in any event, the possible or conceivable gains from strife are infinitely less. Or if I may put it the other way, the harm done by a strife is so great that any possible gain, that may come in the end, is completely outbalanced by it. Therefore, I do beg of you—if you will forgive my using the words—to wake up a little and not remain rather passive spectators of the changing scene, but actively apply your minds and apply them amongst yourselves and also in order to advise us. We welcome your advice in this matter. I do not promise to accept every bit of your advice, but we welcome it. We welcome your advice as to how to push this carriage of India forward in regard to production, distribution and other matters. The year 1949 has just recently begun. Let us, in the course of this year, get over some of those psychological and other difficulties, and after a year or so I



feel that we will be in a much better position to go ahead in many directions. Then, if you like, let us have, ideologically speaking, a further consideration of these problems whatever they may be. What I mean is, I do not wish to suppress your ways of thought. But we will have better materials to judge how we can go, how fast and in which direction, after we have got over certain difficulties that face us today.

If we do not get over these difficulties now, then our pace will be slowed down so much that the movement itself will get restricted and the question of which way we go will become rather important. So the first thing to do is that the movement should be accelerated and the whole structure of India stabilized and made firm. I have no doubt that when we meet together, all of us, and put our heads together, we shall find it far easier to go ahead in a particular direction that we decide. The natural test of that direction, the ultimate test, can only be on the basis of what is good for the Indian masses. That is the only test. Everything else is secondary. But what is good for the Indian masses does not necessarily mean, of course, that we should level down everybody to the level of the Indian masses. Our object is, while avoiding the big differences in income and wealth which every country should avoid, to raise the level of the masses. The big differences in income and wealth provide the cause of friction and, therefore, sensitive persons progressively do not like them. But that does not mean that we should bring our country down to a dead level, intellectually or materially. That will mean an end to all real initiative to progress.

I have put some of my ideas before you rather vaguely and rather disjointedly, so that you might consider the psychological background while you are considering the material problems that face you.

## 6. To Baldev Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 29, 1949

My dear Baldev Singh,

Matthai has sent me a copy of his letter to you dated 24th January.<sup>2</sup> Please let me know what the position is. It might be desirable to hold a meeting of the Defence Committee soon.

1. J. N. Collection.

2. See *ante*, item 4.



I appreciate your difficulty. At the same time I feel that we could well proceed on the assumption that the truce in Kashmir will continue and will lead to a further settlement. This assumption will be for our Budget estimates. If this does not hold, then we must reconsider the position later on and have a supplementary grant, if necessary. This does not necessitate any immediate reduction in the army. The present army continues, say for the next six months in any event.

If this procedure is adopted, we meet, I suppose, Matthai's point of view. Also we fully intend to aim at peace and at the same time we take no risk at all as we are undertaking to consider this matter afresh as soon as a necessity arises.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. To John Matthai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 1, 1949

My dear Matthai,

Gyan Chand has sent me copies of his correspondence regarding the proposed Fiscal Commission.<sup>2</sup> Also copies of various notes prepared by the Standing Committee of Departmental Economists on "Industrial Policy and Foreign Investments." These notes raise important questions of policy. I suppose they are being considered by the Economic Committee of the Cabinet and at a later stage will be considered by the Cabinet as a whole. I feel that we should think now in terms of some kind of a planning authority which can work under the Cabinet or the Economic Committee of the Cabinet. To some extent we have looked upon the Economic Coordinating Unit<sup>3</sup> of the Cabinet under Gyan Chand (supported by the Departmental

1. File No. 37(49)/49-PMS.

2. The Fiscal Commission was appointed on 20 April 1949, with V.T. Krishnamachari as chairman and B.N. Ganguli, B.M. Birla, M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Mukhtar Singh and D.L. Mazumdar as members, to design the country's long term tariff policy and lay down principles of protection with particular reference to international obligations.

3. The Economic Coordinating Unit was set up in 1948 as a planning authority to coordinate the functions of the Economic Committee of the Cabinet and the Committee of Departmental Economists.

Committee of Economists) as a first step in some kind of planning. It is a very small step. But we can use it as such and at the same time think of the next step. I feel that we should try to get out of the habit of considering various matters separately and not as a part of some general plan.

The proposed Fiscal Commission may do some useful work. But it does seem to me that that work would depend a good deal on our general approach to the wider problem. If this is so, then we should begin making that general approach first.

For the last year and a half, and indeed more, we have talked a good deal about planning. But somehow we have made very little progress. Should we not now think in a little more concrete terms?

The note or draft report sent by the Committee of Economists is rather diffuse, but it is helpful. I do not quite understand the suggestion made by Gyan Chand for a special committee to be appointed to consider the question of foreign investments, etc. We have committees enough and it will serve little purpose for the same persons calling themselves a special committee. It is true, however, that the question is important from many points of view and requires very careful consideration. Perhaps after the Economic Committee of the Cabinet has arrived at some tentative conclusions or prepared a draft statement, this might be referred to the Committee of Economists for any suggestions that they might make in regard to it. This procedure will help both the Economic Committee and the full Cabinet in considering this matter. If the Committee of Departmental Economists is too big a body for this purpose, they can appoint a small committee of their own, with which we can consult more easily on this subject.

I am writing to you briefly, although the points raised by these papers cover a very wide field and seem to me to require careful consideration.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To John Matthai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 7, 1949

My dear Matthai,

Your Economic Committee is, I believe considering the statement to be made in regard to foreign investment.<sup>2</sup> I suppose some kind of a draft will be sent to me as soon as it is ready. I do not know if you are confining it to that particular matter or extending its scope. Apart from the economic aspect there are political implications. Anything that we may say about the U.K. will presumably apply to the U.S.A. also. Fresh capital is likely to come from the U.S.A. I presume you are keeping in mind these political implications and avoiding any commitments which might perhaps come in our way later.

I have been thinking that this matter as well as certain other connected matters might be considered as a whole. Dealing with them separately, and without some kind of a larger picture in our minds, might well lead to some contradictions or difficulties in the future.

I see that there is a bill for Central regulation and control of certain specified industries.<sup>3</sup> So far as the negative aspect of this is concerned, that is of course necessary. If there is any positive aspect of it, that would touch upon planning.

Again, the Fiscal Commission that you are envisaging may consider tariffs in terms of long policy or may just revise the present tariff rates. If it is a question of long-term policy, then again we come up against planning.

All these matters appear to me to be somewhat inter-related and might be considered together. Indeed I think that we should think in terms of some further planning machinery. I should like to come into this picture before you have almost finalised anything; otherwise, it sometimes happen that one has to consider things afresh.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 26(37)/48-PMS.

2. The Economic Committee announced its policy in regard to foreign investment in April 1949. No discrimination would be made between foreign and Indian undertakings in the application of general industrial policy; reasonable facilities consistent with foreign exchange position would be given for remittance of profits and repatriation of capital; and in case of nationalisation, fair and equitable compensation would be paid.

3. On 1 February, Public Companies (Limitation of Dividends) Bill was introduced in Parliament to provide for the development, regulation and control of certain industries, such as foodstuffs, cotton and woollen textiles, paper, petroleum products, coal, iron, steel, mica, and spare parts of vehicles. It was passed on 7 April 1949.



## 9. The Economic Programme<sup>1</sup>

We talked all along, in terms of Swaraj which in fact means nothing if there is no economic betterment of the people. Now after political freedom has been achieved the attainment of economic freedom should claim our full attention.

The economic programme of the Congress<sup>2</sup> is drawn up to guide us to achieve this end. But economic betterment is not a thing which can be attained by the enactment of laws. If the common man should have more to eat and live a contented life and his requirements met, we should all work hard and produce more. Slogans would confer no material benefits to the masses nor would they produce more wealth.

The standard of living in the United States today is very high and this is because the people there produce more. A nation does not get rich by the quantum of gold or silver it possesses but by the extent and quantity of its production in the fields or in factories.

Once the problem of production is satisfactorily solved, the next question which should be taken up is its equitable distribution. Some nations have solved the problem of distribution by undertaking nationalisation. This is also on the programme of the Government but this cannot be effected now by legislative enactments.

Each problem must be taken up according to its importance in the scheme of our national life and must be solved accordingly. After all, Government get money only by the levy of taxes. The money thus secured cannot be frittered away in projects whose execution can wait.

I welcome responsible criticism of our Government. It is the inherent right of a democracy to criticise and make constructive suggestion to the Government of the day. It is complained in certain quarters that I am internationally minded and devote less time to internal affairs. We must realise that in the world of today contacts with other countries are essential not from a prestige point of view but in our own interests to further our own trade relations and economic advantage.

1. Address to the Textile Labour Association, Ahmedabad, 12 February 1949. From *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 13 February and *The Hindustan Times*, 14 February 1949.
2. The resolution passed at the Jaipur session of the Congress on 18 December 1948 wanted people to accept strict austerity, to avoid wasteful expenditure, and to utilise all the nation's resources for increasing production. "Planned and decentralised production should form part of the permanent economy of the country".

Now on the question of strikers. If the railway strike<sup>3</sup> materialises it will cease to be a strike to secure economic betterment. It will be a political strike meant to upset the government. This will be highly improper. Government should be changed by the ballot and not by strikes. A railway strike at this time would have serious consequences and it would take a long time before its ill effects are removed.

Loss of production would hurt not only the community at large but labour itself which seeks to profit by it. The constitution of the Textile Labour Association has been framed under the direction of Mahatma Gandhi<sup>4</sup> and it stresses the importance of arbitration in the matter of capital labour disputes before the latter resorts to strikes. It is this policy which is going to build up the Textile Labour Association as a strong organization of labour, enables it to render assistance to its members and gives it a commanding position among labour unions which indulge in frequent strikes and weaken themselves.

It must be the duty of the State to provide suitable machinery for the arbitration of industrial disputes. The loss of production caused by strikes further accentuates inflation and other difficulties.

Socialism in itself is a good thing. It may come to this country as well. But socialism is not a consummation which can be brought about by mere legislative enactments. The necessary conditions precedent for socialism must be created. Otherwise it will mean starvation and misery for another twenty years or more with no prospects of any tangible result in the end.

3. See *ante*, p. 39.

4. The first regular union of the textile workers of Ahmedabad was inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi on 25 February 1920. The Constitution of the Textile Labour Association laid down the means to be adopted for furtherance of the objects of the association which would always be based on truth and nonviolence.





## BUILDING NEW INDIA

## III. The Food Problem



1. To Jairamdas Doulatram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 7, 1949

My dear Jairamdas,  
Your letter of the 7th.

Certainly I think you should go to the Inter-Dominion Conference.<sup>2</sup> But I do not think it is desirable to postpone consideration of the economic position and more specially the dollar position, which has been fixed for the 10th. There is going to be no decision on that day and these discussions are likely to last for some time. I feel that the business of the Cabinet, more especially in regard to this economic problem, is of such importance that all ministers must give it precedence in their programmes. Indeed I have almost come to the conclusion that it would be a good thing if we stopped all other work and concentrated on our economic and food policy and how to implement it with the greatest rapidity. For this your presence is of course essential. Nevertheless, I think you should better go to Karachi this time. I hope you will not undertake any further tours till these main problems are settled.

The whole dollar position hinges on the food situation. We are in a pretty bad way and what is worse, there is not much prospect of improvement. There was some discussion of this at the last Cabinet meeting and we decided to ask for full details about the Grow More Food campaign. There is a feeling that this has been a failure and it is better to stop it as it has been going on and think of something new. I do not even know if we have any proper statistics. In a crisis of this kind the most accurate knowledge is needed and an efficient machinery for rapid implementation. I know that implementation largely lies with the provinces. But in view of the crisis we cannot allow matters to drift any further.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. At the Inter-Dominion Conference, held in Karachi from 10 to 13 January 1949, agreement was reached on issues relating to evacuee property in both the Dominions.



## 2. To the Premiers of Provinces<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 7, 1949

My dear Premier,

We have been considering for some time past the inflationary situation that exists in the country and we have proclaimed that we will fight it to the best of our ability. Thus far the results have been not very startling though prices have not gone up. But obviously they have to come down before any relief can come. This matter as well as allied matters require the most constant and vigilant attention and it may be necessary for us to take other steps. The Cabinet here is giving this matter the most earnest attention and would welcome any particular suggestion from you after your experience of the last three months or so.

Another aspect of the economic situation, and a most vital aspect, is the lack of dollars, which we need so much.<sup>2</sup> This is creating a serious situation. This lack of dollars is chiefly due to food imports.<sup>3</sup>

The position in regard to food has been and is highly unsatisfactory. It is not at all clear what our loudly advertised Grow More Food campaign is producing. The first thing to be done is to have the most accurate data in regard to it. We have asked our Food Ministry to provide this data. But obviously the information has to come from the provinces. I would, therefore, request you to supply this information at the earliest possible moment. It is not enough to say vaguely how money has been utilised. We want to know what results have been produced and by what methods. Each method must be tested by results and it must be given up immediately if results are lacking.

We may have to revise completely our Grow More Food policy if we are not satisfied that it is yielding substantial results.

Food production has to be analysed in its various aspects. I am told that in some parts wheat cultivation is giving place to sugarcane, because the latter is more remunerative.<sup>4</sup> This aspect has to be examined. So also

1. File No. 31/47-PMS. Also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru — Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 1 (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 258-259.
2. Between April and December 1948, India had a deficit of \$. 93 million in her balance of payments with 'hard currency' countries. Of these, the purchase of foodgrains accounted for \$. 75 million.
3. India imported during 1948 2.8 million tons of foodgrains involving an expenditure of Rs. 130 crores.
4. For instance, in U.P., the total area under sugarcane cultivation rose to 10.24 lakh acres in 1947-48 and the cane crushed during the year was 62.56 lakhs tons as compared to 54.16 lakh tons, the previous year. The cane crushing season was also prolonged to 114 working days as against an average of 75 days in the past few years.

other similar developments. We hope to set up adequate machinery for testing and checking all this. In this we shall require your fullest cooperation and help.

In regard to industrial output also, the same policy must be pursued and exact data provided. On the basis of that data we shall frame our policy and emphasise those aspects of our programme which are likely to yield fairly rapid results.

The short-term programme is of the highest importance and must be given precedence so as to encourage production in the immediate future, both of foodstuffs and industrial products. At the same time selected long-term projects have also to be proceeded with. In both the cases a close watch has to be kept and data supplied at short intervals. I shall be grateful if you will kindly help us in getting this information which should be sent to the appropriate Ministry.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To John Matthai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 3, 1949

My dear Matthai,

In view of this morning's discussion about the food problem, I hope you will give your early attention to the formation of the proposed Committee or Commission<sup>2</sup> to deal adequately with all matters connected with food production etc. If you would please confer with the Minister for Food and Agriculture to begin with, then some more of us might meet together to consider the matter. It would be a very good thing if we could get a move on in this direction soon. That would be appreciated by the Assembly and we could follow it up by some kind of a campaign in the country.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 3 1(43)/49-PMS.

2. The Food Commission was set up in March 1949 with its officers in each province to look into the matter of food production and distribution.



#### 4. Utilisation of Land<sup>1</sup>

During the war period, or rather during the latter part of it, many of the open spaces in New Delhi were utilised for growing foodstuffs. Even the vista on either side of Kingsway was utilised. In view of the urgent demand for more food now, it would appear to be even more necessary that we should utilise open spaces for this purpose. Yet I find that the old habit is being given up completely. Could we not revert to this?

1. Note to Food and Agriculture Ministry and to Ministry of Works, Mines and Power, 6 February 1949. File No. 31(41)/49-PMS

#### 5. Self-Sufficiency in Food<sup>1</sup>

The very name of Hastinapur<sup>2</sup> brings before our mind the memories of the ancient days of glory and reminds us of our duties to make India great and strong and a land of peace and plenty.

The people of India should work hard to increase production and thus make the country strong, great and prosperous. To solve the food problem the people should strive for maintaining self-sufficiency in food by increasing the production on the one hand and by consuming only as much as they produce, on the other. The import of foodgrains from other countries at exorbitant prices is not commendable. It is a pity that India cannot produce its requirements in foodgrains. If there is an emergency like a war, imports will be stopped and therefore, it is essential that people should exercise austerity in their diet and develop the habit of switching on to a simpler and lesser diet in an emergency like this. I myself am taking mixed flour of wheat and sweet potatoes and the people should also try to take to it.

Strikes and conflicts hinder the progress of production and are thus disastrous to the economy of the country. The people should understand their duties and responsibilities and cooperate with each other in making the motherland great. They talk of rights and privileges and forget all about duties.

- 1 Speech on laying the foundation stone of a new township at Hastinapur, New Delhi, 6 February 1949. Based on reports from *The Hindu* and *National Herald*, 7 February 1949
2. Hastinapur was an ancient city, in the north-east of Delhi, believed to be the scene of many events in the Mahabharata.



6. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 11, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

I have been giving a lot of thought to the food question. There is no doubt, there is grave dissatisfaction all over the country and in the Assembly at the way things have been done. Jairamdas has not inspired confidence in anyone and indeed he has been very strongly criticised in the Assembly.<sup>2</sup> Generally the press echo this criticism.

I feel myself that some fresh arrangement should be made to deal with this serious situation. Broadly speaking, the problem is not a difficult one. But somehow we have tackled it wrongly. Our food deficit this year, because of famines and other extraordinary causes, is about 9 per cent. Normally after the partition, it should be 6 per cent. Previous to the war it was 3 per cent.

The real problem therefore is to cover a deficit of 6 or 7 per cent. During the war other countries had to face this food problem in a more severe form and they adjusted themselves to it, even without recourse to large imports. There appears to be no reason whatever why we should not succeed also. Somehow we got into the habit of thinking in terms of imports. That was the easy way. Bapu warned us against it repeatedly and said we must rely on our own resources.

We have to change this outlook and decide finally and firmly that within two years we shall put an end to imports. Or, at any event, cover most of the deficit. The Grow More Food campaign has not been a success and we have no means of checking even what has been done.<sup>3</sup> In fact, apart from occasional circulars and directives and doles of money given to the provinces, the Centre has done little. This problem therefore has to be tackled vigorously and in a new way. Apart from schemes for bringing new land under cultivation, it appears to be desirable to encourage other crops. For instance sugar is in excess now and there is a glut of it in the market. Next year's produce will produce a greater accumulation. It is proposed, therefore, that we should reduce sugar-cane cultivation. We might increase wheat cultivation, but special stress is being laid on sweet potato,

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In the debates of the Constituent Assembly on 3 and 4 February 1949 several members criticised the Government for the failure of the Grow More Food programme.

3. Fearing that rice from Burma would not be available during the Second World War, the Indian Government launched this campaign in April 1942. After the war, the Interim Government decided in September 1946 to continue with the campaign for another five years.

tapioca, bananas, all of which are very good food easily grown in large quantities.

I need not go into this matter here. The point is that some new outlook and a new drive has to be introduced in this business. Jairamdas is tremendously hard working and a very conscientious person. But he has not been a success and I do not think he has managed to enthuse the staff of his ministry. The Ministry of Agriculture has to deal with this food production problem. I am thinking, therefore, that it would be advisable to split up the Food and Agriculture Ministries and to give charge of Agriculture to some one else. In view of the loan that we are likely to take from the International Bank, it is particularly important that food production should grow. We have to pay back the loan within the stated period of five to seven years.

I mentioned this matter to Vallabhbhai. He generally agreed. I had thought at one time of asking Mahtab<sup>4</sup> to take charge of the Agriculture Ministry. I am sure he would have been good. But on second thoughts and on Vallabhbhai pointing out to me that Mahtab's absence from Orissa would be a great blow to that province, I have given up the idea.

I have had a general talk with Jairamdas on this subject. He is rather shaken up with the tremendous criticism he has had. He agreed that the work of the two Ministries was too great and that it might be desirable to split them. I did not mention to him that I would like a new man for Agriculture. But I did make it clear that a new man should be brought in for one of the Ministries. I think Jairamdas will prefer to hold on to Agriculture.<sup>5</sup> But I think it is Agriculture that requires a new outlook.

I should like you to consider this matter and think of a suitable name. Normally it would have been preferable to choose a person in the Assembly. But if we get a good man outside, we should certainly have him. I have asked Vallabhbhai to think of this also.

I am going away to Ahmedabad etc., tomorrow morning and returning on the 14th early afternoon.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

4. Harekrushna Mahtab.

5. Jairamdas continued in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture till 1950 when he was succeeded by K.M. Munshi.

**1**

**BUILDING NEW INDIA**

**IV. Industry**





## 1. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 6, 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

Thank you for letter of the 31st December<sup>2</sup> about General Sokhey's scheme for the manufacture of penicillin, sulpha drugs and paludrine.

You are quite right in saying that the scheme has undergone a number of modifications during the last two years. No doubt, owing to changing conditions, such a scheme may continue to be modified in regard to prices etc., as time goes on. When it first came, it received our approval. Then other things happened. The revised scheme is, as you point out, in many ways an improvement on the old one, chiefly because of the Swedish people who have offered us better terms.<sup>3</sup> I am quite clear that we should manufacture sulpha drugs as a State undertaking. As regards paludrine, I do not know what the exact legal position is, but I am sure that some arrangement can be made.

I am very anxious that this scheme should be pushed ahead for a variety of reasons. Apart from its being remunerative, it is good from the public point of view. It will save us also dollars which is an important aspect. The Defence Ministry is anxious about it and Sardar Patel asked me only this evening how matters stood in regard to it.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(116)/48-PMS.
2. Mookerjee wrote that Sokhey's scheme of producing penicillin, sulpha drugs and paludrine in India was initiated in 1946 and then revised. The Finance Ministry had not yet approved the expenditure of Rs. 194.5 lakhs but administrative approval for production through State agency had been secured.
3. The Swedish firm's offer of technology and assistance to set up the plant would cost 3 million dollars less than the American firm's offer.
4. The Finance Ministry was preparing a note on the subject to place before the Cabinet, and the Priorities Committee had included it as one of the items to be acted upon in 1949-50.

2. To S.S. Sokhey<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
10 January 1949

My dear Sokhey,

I have your letter of January 8th. I quite understand your apprehension. Anyway, the matter came up before the Cabinet today and certain decisions were taken in line with what you have suggested.<sup>2</sup> We have decided that it should be a State enterprise and a unitary project, that is, the manufacture of penicillin, paludrine and sulpha drugs. Further that the patent rights should be obtained from Imperial Chemicals or whoever they are. We also agreed that the plant should be situated in Bombay and that the Bombay Government should have a share in it.

So far so good. As for the Swedish firm, it was stated that they had not finally agreed to something or other. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur stated that she had been informed today that the firm had agreed.

So now you can go ahead and deal with the Swedish firm. Unless some further obstruction takes place, there will be no need for another reference to Cabinet.

It is also presumed that a State corporation should take charge of this project. Details will have to be worked out.

I am inclined to agree with you that it will be better for the Health Ministry to deal with this matter. But for the present we might better leave it where it is.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(116)/48-PMS.

2. See *ante*. item 1.



### 3. To Dhirajlal Bhulabhai Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 23, 1949

My dear Dhiru,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th January<sup>2</sup> about our engaging Prof. Messerschmidt<sup>3</sup> for the Hindustan Aircraft Factory. Your proposal appears to be a very good one. I do not know much about this matter myself but I am taking immediate steps to enquire and we shall let you know soon.

On my return to India from Europe, I sent your note on industrial matters to various Ministries. Some of your proposals were generally approved. Unfortunately we are in a very difficult financial position which, for the moment, has not improved because of the cessation of hostilities in Kashmir. The real difficulty comes from our having to import large quantities of foodstuffs for which we have to pay in dollars. Our Finance Ministry has laid down the most stringent conditions for every additional expenditure, more particularly any expenditure involving hard currencies. We have had regretfully to give up many of our schemes.

Nevertheless we must go ahead with important schemes. I am again enquiring into this matter.

I have been reading your reports and finding them very interesting and instructive.

I have today ended the Conference on Indonesia which we have been holding here. This was a great success.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(42)/56-PMS.

2. Besides urging Nehru to engage Messerschmidt, Dhirajlal Desai reminded him of the Swiss Government's willingness to encourage Swiss concerns to start manufacturing programmes in India in collaboration with Indian interests. He hoped that with the cessation of hostilities in Kashmir, the Indian Government would have more funds to invest in industry.

3. Wilhelm Messerschmidt (1898-1978); pioneering German aircraft designer; Professor of aircraft construction 1930; designed Me 209, Me 109, Me 262 aircraft during the Third Reich.

4. To Syama Prasad Mookerjee<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 24, 1949

My dear Syama Prasad,

I understand that some representatives of the Swedish Corporation with which we have been carrying on talks about a plant for the manufacture of penicillin etc., are coming here soon. I should like to meet them informally.

As you know, I am anxious that this business should be completed as soon as possible and work should start on it. I hope that the contract would be signed during this visit.

In your speech this morning you referred to the manufacture of penicillin, sulpha drugs, etc., in connection with the possibility of private enterprise undertaking it.<sup>2</sup> We have already decided in Cabinet that this should be a State enterprise and we have to proceed on that basis. From the financial point of view Dr. Matthai is strongly in favour of this scheme and wants us to expedite it.

I presume some kind of a company or statutory corporation will have to be formed and we shall have to choose a good chairman for it.

In the event of certain legal aspects having to be completed before the formal contract is signed, I suggest that there should be a formal exchange of letters between the Government on the one hand and the Swedish representatives on the other. This will be binding enough and we can go ahead and a little later sign the formal contract.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(116)/48-PMS.

2. At the first meeting of the Central Advisory Council of Industries on 24 January 1949, Mookerjee wanted suggestions as to the extent private enterprise should be associated with the manufacture of these drugs.

5. To N.V. Gadgil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
24 January 1949

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for sending me a copy of your note on the Whitley Council method<sup>2</sup> being tried in India. I am interested to learn that you have been experimenting with it in your Ministry. I think it is a good idea and it might be worthwhile for other Ministries to give effect to it. At any rate experimentally and provisionally it would be worthwhile to get the reactions from the other Ministries. I am, therefore, sending a copy of your note to the other Ministries.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In 1916, the British Government appointed a committee under the Chairmanship of Whitley, the Speaker of the House of Commons, "to make and consider suggestions for securing a permanent improvement in the relations between employers and workmen." The outcome was the establishment of Whitley Councils—the formation within an industry by voluntary agreement of a joint industrial council representing the organizations, employers and employees.





1

BUILDING NEW INDIA

V. Science





## 1. The Responsibility of the Scientists<sup>1</sup>

You have been welcomed by the Governor and by the Premier<sup>2</sup> of this province and I have come here on behalf of the Government of India to bid you a warm welcome to this Science Congress and to assure you, if an assurance is needed, of our interest in your work and achievements. I am also here in my personal capacity as a citizen of Allahabad to express my pleasure at the meeting of this distinguished Congress in my home town of Allahabad. Reference has been made to this city as a centre of intellectuality and as a place where for ages past people came for learning and also as a place where people come to die. When these compliments are paid to this city of Allahabad I do not take them at their face value. So far as the question of dying is concerned, I prefer to live in a place where people go to live and not to die. But when Allahabad is said to be the seat of intellectuality, it almost leads me to think that it has no other claim left, having been deprived of most of the other things that originally belonged to her. Fortunately, the university is still here in Allahabad and presumably will continue. Fortunately, the rivers Ganga and Jamuna are also here and presumably will continue. Therefore, in the final analysis, the citizens of Allahabad need not despair and so long as we have Ganga and Jamuna we can carry on.

We are happy to see amidst us Dr. C.V. Raman, one of the most eminent Indian scientists who recently celebrated his 60th birthday. Sixty years are not very much in a man's life and we hope that he will be spared for many more years of service in the cause of science and in the cause of India.

Undoubtedly, science has done tremendous good to the world and to India. We have to concentrate on the advancement of scientific research and the application of science. The Government is building up laboratories, institutes and the like to give opportunities to youth to further the cause of science, because we realise that a country must be good in regard to scientific research and application of science if it is to play its proper part in the world, and because we also realised that we cannot solve our problems, economic or otherwise, without the help of science. Science must progress and we, as a Government, are certainly going to do our utmost to give it an opportunity but ultimately it is the human being who counts in an institute and

1. Inaugural address at the thirty-sixth session of the Indian Science Congress, Allahabad, 3 January 1949, *Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Indian Science Congress* (Calcutta), 1949, pp. 31-35.
2. Sarojini Naidu and Govind Ballabh Pant respectively.

not the money which flows into it from the exchequer. If India has human beings of the right calibre who can take advantage of these opportunities, it will be well and good. I am quite convinced that many of our younger men in the scientific field are of the right calibre and are bound to make good, if they are given opportunities.

I have come to think that quality is far more important than quantity in scientific knowledge. It is true that out of quantity comes quality, or the opportunity comes if the masses of India have sufficient opportunities for their training, and I have no doubt that a vast number of competent, able and talented young men and women will come out in every field of activity and more especially in science. Giving them opportunity is where quantity comes in, but if we are content with quantity only then I fear we will remain secondary in the field of science. Therefore, quality becomes essential and I lay stress on this because I fear that during the past two or three years when we talked so much of scientific advance we laid stress on quantity more than on quality.

I am not satisfied with the quality and output in the field of science in India. Frankly speaking, I think that we are not quite so big in the scientific field as we say we are. Somehow we are getting lost in smaller things, in mutual debates and arguments and not concentrating on that type of scientific work which is of a basic nature, and out of which all other types of scientific activities grow. I like to see more of fundamental work and less of what I may call rather superficial work. In fact, more of that spirit of true science which should animate and inspire us and lead us to bigger achievements.

The problems we have to face in the world and in India today are overwhelming. In India the economic problem is dominant and we have to think of ways to solve it. Unfortunately, even the cause of science is suffering in India because of our economic difficulties. The economic problem is a big one and it is not directly concerned with your work in the Science Congress. What should scientists do and to what end should they work?

Obviously, men of the highest calibre must be given a chance to work as they choose and it is no good third-rate men trying to do the work of first-rate men. Really first-rate men in the field of science, and indeed in any field, must be given a fair amount of latitude to do just what they like. They may fail or they may succeed, but if they are not given this latitude, they may miss something very great. The problem that troubles me is how, in the final analysis, science is helping us today in the solution, not of the thousand and one problems of the world, but of what I shall call the one single fundamental problem of this world. In spite of its very great scientific achievement today, the world is obviously in a bad way and there is something very wrong about it. There are plenty of men of ability



and talent and even genius, plenty of men of goodwill and yet the world goes wrong.

What are they going to do about it? People say they are in an age of transition, but every age is an age of transition. What do men of science propose to do about it? Whether they are scientists or not, they cannot escape the consequences of this conflict of spirit that is going on all over the world and certainly in India. I do not think that mere scientific advance, however great it may be, gives an answer to this major problem. Indeed, scientific advance rather intensifies that problem unless they find some other ways and means of solving it. The shake-up of the world, when industrial civilization began about 200 years ago, had continued in varying degrees. As soon as places where industrialization had not spread became fewer and fewer, the crisis became more and more acute. It led to the First World War, which led then in a more acute form to the Second World War, and today it is leading to some frightful catastrophe. The lack of adjustment, caused by industrialization spreading and not being properly balanced with other conditions, had led to the crisis that enveloped them. The odd thing is that scientists added to that crisis by finding out more and more ways of advance in this particular field. Unless the scientist finds out ways of balancing that advance, he adds to the crisis and the result is that he speeds the possible destruction of his own work in a big way.

How exactly any scientist is going to deal with this tremendous problem I do not know. A scientist, like any other person, must develop some kind of organic knowledge of human history and human advance. He must develop some perspective and try to see how things have developed, how humanity has been affected in its various phases of existence, how it has profited by science and how it has not profited, not because of a lack of science but because of a lack of adjustment of what science produced. We have numerous examples of the highest scientific advance in a country being utilised for wrong purposes. While scientists must necessarily specialise, they must look at their problem in its wider perspective, as part of the human problem, in the historical as well as in the human perspective and then perhaps they may see it in its right place. Thus when they make their new discoveries, they may also think of the factors of balancing their discoveries. There should be an attempt to preserve everything that they have gained today and to add to it. There should be a further attempt to balance their gains in various ways, in the social and economic spheres and in the realm of spirit.

I would like you scientists to think about this aspect of the problem, because it affects all of us very greatly and all our achievements may be swept away by the great world disasters and catastrophes, simply because we work in our grooves and others work in their grooves and great forces



work in contrary directions and are not balanced. The Governor appealed to you, men of science, not to help the forces of evil and destruction. That applies to each one of us, wherever may we be, and we should endeavour not to ally ourselves in any way with the forces of evil and destruction. It is no good getting excited against this nation or that as most people do. Most people and most nations are alike more or less. They have their good and bad points. In a way, the problem has to be looked at impersonally, objectively and scientifically to understand the various forces that are at work today in the world. Know men's minds, understand them and try to help the right forces and the right urges.

Air travel takes us quickly from one part of the world to another and there are no political frontiers in the air. It is the mind of man that has achieved everything and developed everything. The mind of man is still probing into the mysteries of nature and the universe and probing with success. Most of the people in most parts of the world have not quite adapted themselves to the great achievements of science which they use daily. They use them just as so many people use the aeroplane in India, but they are as far removed to everything which an aeroplane signifies or means as anything can possibly be.

Today there is very little poise left in the nations and even statesmen go about openly cursing each other in conferences and in other places with the result that they live in an atmosphere of extreme tension with possibilities of wars or domestic conflict. Surely there is something very wrong about the world where all these conflicts and tensions take place, and if they do not understand what is wrong and help to the extent they can in setting it right, they are living in an artificial atmosphere. It should be the job of science or particularly some departments of science to try to solve these problems by developing to some extent a philosopher's bias in addition to the scientist's outlook. It requires in every field of life, especially for men at the top, a touch of philosophy, not too much of metaphysics which is most dangerous, but understanding problems of human life and applying science to the solution of those problems. This is not merely a question for the politicians or the scientists, it is a question for every sensitive, thinking human being. Obviously, scientists are both sensitive and thinking and, therefore, it is a question for them. They put up a vast number of laboratories and produce results which help them to meet this problem or that problem and then some overwhelming catastrophe comes which puts an end to their laboratories and to their work. It is an astounding position and I can hazard a few guesses as to the reason for it. A high degree of specialization has produced highly talented persons and even persons of genius, but often enough a person who is a very bad citizen in the real sense of the word. Each person works in his special groove, but there is very little of

coordination between different grooves and all his work is upset from time to time by great forces, of which he has no understanding because he does not even try to understand them as they fall outside his groove. They have to understand these great forces, control them or divert them along right channels. If there is a conflict today in the world between forces of destruction and forces of construction, they must try to encourage and support and help in every way the latter.

## 2. C.V. Raman<sup>1</sup>

The National Professorship of physics which was created in 1948 for Dr. C.V. Raman was essentially a personal one because of Dr. Raman's great eminence in science. The Government were anxious to utilise his services to the fullest extent and to give him every opportunity for carrying on his research work on the lines of his own choosing. A scientist of his eminence has to be given latitude in regard to his work. This post was created for two years on a salary of Rs. 2,500/- a month and it was attached to the Indian Academy of Sciences. This limitation of period was made to fit in with the rules of the Finance Ministry and indicated no intention on the part of Government to dispense with Dr. Raman's services at the end of two years. Indeed Government expect many years of national service from Dr. Raman and would like to give him every opportunity to continue the important work he is doing for as long a period as possible.

2. Owing to technical difficulties such appointments are not made on a permanent basis, but in effect the limitation of period is not important. Perhaps the best way would be not to mention any period at all but to say that it is terminable on six months' notice on either side. We would not like to approach the Finance Ministry on any other basis at present because of the many difficulties. But Professor Raman might be informed that it is Government's desire to give him these facilities of work for an indefinite period.

3. The appointment can be made personal and need not be attached specifically to the Indian Academy of Sciences.

4. Regarding Dr. Raman's request that he should be permitted to visit

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, New Delhi, 11 January 1949. File No. 17(24)/49-PMS.



other centres in India whenever this is in the interests of his research work, there will be no difficulty about this. It will be desirable for him to send prior notice of his visits to other centres for administrative and other reasons.

5. As regards visits abroad, the Department would consider such proposals favourably whenever necessity arises. But as this involves many considerations, which have to be placed before the Finance Ministry, the prior approval of the Finance Ministry would be necessary through the Department.

6. As regards Professor Raman's request for a grant of Rs. 100,000/- per annum for the Raman Research Institute,<sup>2</sup> it is not possible to approach the Finance Ministry for any further grants at present. Owing to the economic situation every type of grant has been stopped and indeed many of our important schemes have been postponed. We therefore do not wish to approach the Finance Ministry with a request which is likely to be turned down because of these wider reasons. This has nothing to do with the importance we attach to the Raman Research Institute or Professor Raman's work. The Department of Scientific Research however is anxious to help the Raman Research Institute and will endeavour to provide such funds as may be available.

2. C.V. Raman founded the Raman Research Institute at Bangalore in 1948.

### 3. The Use and Abuse of Science<sup>1</sup>

In spite of immense scientific progress there is something radically wrong with the world today and it is up to the scientists and industrialists to make a determined effort to find a way out of the crisis which is upon us.

The world today is divided into power blocs and international conflicts are raging everywhere. The powers of science, which can be of immense value to humanity, are being applied by man for his own destruction. The reason is that the equilibrium which existed in the nineteenth century has been altered by the emergence of Asia and Africa on the stage of world

1. Speech at a meeting of the governing body of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, New Delhi, 19 January 1949. From *The Hindustan Times* and *National Herald*, 20 January 1949.



politics and Europe has not yet succeeded in reconciling itself to this fact. A new balance between East and West has to be attained and until this is accomplished there is bound to be unrest and unsettlement in the world.

It is in achieving this adjustment between East and West that the scientists have their most valuable contributions to make. The Indian scientists should not merely concentrate on their narrow schemes of research but also look at their problems in the context of the prevailing world situation and help to find a way out of the catastrophe which seems to be staring the world in the face.

Indian scientists and industrialists should think over their problems in the context of the human problems of the whole world. It is true that as scientists they have to specialize in their subjects and specialization to a certain extent is good. But the paramount need of the hour is for broad vision which should enable them to concentrate on the needs of humanity.

There are some countries like the United States which consider their own way of life as the only worthwhile way. But this is a wrong attitude. Each country's way of life has merits in view of the prevailing conditions in that country, but in the world as a whole there should be room for different systems and ideologies. Every pattern of life is good in its proper environment and that is the great truth which the world has to learn.



## BUILDING NEW INDIA

VI. Education





1. To Abul Kalam Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 10, 1949

My dear Maulana,

It is rather odd for me to write to you to suggest a grant to an institution in view of the big cuts that have been made in your budget. I am doing so with considerable hesitation.

I enclose a letter<sup>2</sup> from Swami Kuvalayananda. This letter was handed to me by Shri B.G. Kher, Premier of Bombay, with his strong recommendation. I think the work that Kuvalayananda is doing is rather unique and might prove to be of great importance.<sup>3</sup> The Bombay Government is supporting it. For the present the question is not of any big grants, but rather of an initial token grant of Rs. 10,000/- which would help him in many ways.

There is a great deal of interest in foreign countries now in the scientific aspect of yoga training. Indeed Kuvalayananda has been invited by foreign universities especially in America. I would be very sorry if he left India and started his work somewhere else, because I think that this work should be done in India. As a man Kuvalayananda is capable and attractive and earnest. I have known him for a large number of years and learnt something from him. My father used to consult him also.

I mentioned this matter to Dr. Matthai. He said that it would be a good thing for this support to be given by the Government of India. The sum involved was so small that it was hardly worthwhile for the Finance Ministry to make a special grant. It might come out of other normal grants.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(245)/48-PMS.

2. Swami Kuvalayananda had requested Nehru to give at least a token grant that year to encourage the work of yoga in his institution.

3. Swami Kuvalayananda was carrying on scientific research in yoga in Kaivalayadhama at Lonavla.

## 2. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
17 January 1949

My dear Pantji,

I hesitate to write to you about a subject with which I am not fully acquainted. This is the teachers' strike in the U.P.<sup>2</sup> I am writing merely as a resident of the U.P.

I cannot naturally enter into the merits of this business except that one feels a certain sympathy for these poorly paid teachers. I must confess however that some of the speeches made by Sampurnanand seem to me unnecessarily aggressive and that is the impression which many other people have got too. Indeed, I have found very general and widespread sympathy for the teachers amongst the most unlikely people. I hope some way out will be found which is honourable to the teachers also. People who have to do with the teaching of children should not be frustrated and crushed.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The strike of the U.P. Board teachers, involving about 43,000 teachers and covering almost all the districts of the State, for increase in pay started on 1 January 1949. It was called off on 7 February 1949 after the Government assured consideration of their demands.

## 3. To John Matthai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
11 February 1949

My dear Matthai,

Maulana Azad came to me today and was greatly distressed. He mentioned two points particularly.

On several occasions he had stated on behalf of Government in the Assembly that something more will be done in regard to the education of scheduled classes, backward groups, tribal areas, etc. He had said that further provision for scholarships for these people will be made. Indeed we have all been laying stress on our desire to help these backward groups. Jagjivan Ram had repeatedly mentioned it. Now Maulana Azad finds that

1. J.N. Collection.



he cannot add to the grant allotted for this particular purpose. He had originally put ten lakhs as an additional sum for such scholarships or other arrangements for these groups. Subsequently he reduced this sum to, I think, five lakhs or so. It now appears to have disappeared, that is the additional sum.

The second point he mentioned was also rather an old one. When Rajaji was Minister of Education, he had put forward a proposal for a sum to be allotted to him specially for helping special types of educational institutions and for experiments in forms of education<sup>2</sup>, either on a mass scale or otherwise. This idea was subsequently developed by Maulana Azad and there are several proposals which are worth encouragement. This is, I believe, an ordinary practice in other countries to encourage educational efforts outside the main line and to watch results. Owing to the proposed change-over from English to Hindi or Hindustani as well as other provincial languages in our educational system, a great deal of investigation and experimenting has to be done. Dictionaries have to be prepared, lists of technical words, lists of common words of a semi-technical nature used by artisans and the like. There is the Yogic Culture Institute<sup>3</sup> which, I think, I mentioned to you. There is the Hindustani Prachar Sabha, started by Gandhiji,<sup>4</sup> which has done extraordinarily good work and has kept the balance between extreme advocates of Hindi and Urdu. All these schemes deserve encouragement because we can base our future policy on the results of these. Normally every scheme has to gain the separate approval of the Finance Ministry. These very specialised schemes are seldom appreciated by the Finance Ministry and indeed they are not likely to know much about them. It is, therefore, desirable to allot a lump sum for such particular schemes and experiments to the Education Ministry to be used at their discretion without separate reference to the Finance Ministry. I think some such procedure is usual in other countries and is certainly desirable. This avoids delay and red tape and the people, who are best qualified to judge, have discretion in the matter. I should very much like the Education Ministry to have a sum allotted for this purpose.

On the last occasion when this matter was discussed in the Cabinet, I gathered the impression that you were agreeable to a lump sum grant for the Education Ministry and they could split up as they liked. That is to say

2. In 1946, as Minister of Education in the Interim Government, Rajagopalachari wished schools to "introduce song and dance" into children's lives and felt that university education in Indian languages was quite feasible.
3. See *ante*, item 1.
4. In 1942 Mahatma Gandhi, along with Jamnalal Bajaj, established the Hindustani Prachar Sabha to propagate the language spoken in north India in both Persian and Devanagari scripts, so that it could become the national language of India.

you gave the maximum figure which you were prepared to allot. That figure stands for the major schemes which have already been agreed to. It might be possible for the Education Ministry to pull out say Rs. 5 lakhs for experiments etc., as mentioned above, from one of the other grants, say out of the adult education. This would not interfere with the final figure. But it should be clearly understood that they will have discretion to use this money for such schemes as they choose, without constant reference to the Finance Ministry. Of course the matter will come up later, when sums are so used, for audit and examination.

In regard to the scheduled classes, it seems much more difficult to find any additional sum from the existing allotment. If it is at all possible, I should very much like a sum round about five lakhs or even four, to be found for additional help for the scheduled classes. We have talked so much about helping them and given so many assurances that not to do anything more than we did last year after over a year of the new Government would be a shock to many people, more especially the representatives of the scheduled classes and backward areas.

I do hope you will be able to consider these proposals favourably.

I am leaving for Ahmedabad etc., early tomorrow morning. I expect to be back about noon on the 14th.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. To R.R. Diwakar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

15 February 1949

My dear Diwakar,<sup>2</sup>

Some little time ago I paid a public tribute to the excellence of some of the publications of the Information Ministry. More particularly I had in mind some of the new publications for children. *Bal Bharati*<sup>3</sup> attracted me very

1. File No. 43(66)/49-PMS.

2. Ranganath Ramchandra Diwakar (1894—1990); imprisoned several times during the freedom movement; general secretary and president, Karnataka P.C.C., 1930-54; Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, 1948-52; Governor of Bihar, 1952-57; Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, 1957; President, Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1959; nominated to Rajya Sabha, 1962; author of a number of books in Kannada, Hindi and English.

3. A Hindi monthly for children; first published in June 1948 by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting.





CARRYING BUDDHIST RELICS AT MAHABODHI SOCIETY, CALCUTTA, 15 JANUARY 1949





INAUGURATING A SARVODAYA EXHIBITION AT BARRACKPORE, 30 JANUARY 1949



WITH JIGME DORJI WANGCHUK, ASHI CHUMMI DORJI AND ASHI TASHI DORJI IN  
CALCUTTA, 15 JANUARY 1949



WITH SAROJINI NAIDU AND VIJAYALAKSHMI PANDIT, FEBRUARY 1949



much and indeed I made special enquiries about it and was pleased to learn that it had rapidly become popular and the demand for it was growing. I attach great importance to this as I think attractive children's magazines are essential for our education and also now for the spread of Hindi. Indeed I was going to suggest to you that a special branch might be created in your Ministry for children's publications, as indeed most countries have. We are very far behind other countries in this respect, America, England, France, the U.S.S.R.

I have been surprised to learn that there is some proposal, apparently on behalf of the Economy Committee, that some of these children's publications, and notably *Bal Bharati*, should be discontinued. That surely is the worst possible economy that one can think of. I would almost prefer any other economy, even in food, than this type of starvation of the growing child's mind.

May I suggest to you to get for your Ministry children's books from other countries and see what tremendous progress these have made and how powerfully they influence the growing generation? Indeed one of my grievances has been that we do not have good children's books in Hindi or any other provincial languages in India. We have perforce to get English books or sometimes French. Therefore a special effort should be made to encourage these children's books. I am myself sure that this will be a paying proposition after a little while because there is a big market for them.

In any event I hope that what is being done will not be stopped and the excellent magazine, *Bal Bharati*, will continue.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



## BUILDING NEW INDIA

## VII. Art and Culture





## 1. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 9, 1949

My dear Krishna,

You will remember the two pictures of Gandhiji, made by Clare Leighton, which I saw in London. One was an etching and the other a painting. Both were brought by Brailsford.<sup>2</sup> I wanted to find out the prices, but I have been unable to do so and I wonder if you can help in this.

There is going to be an exhibition of pictures and paintings of Gandhiji here in Delhi on the 30th January and I should have liked to have both these here. In any event I should like the etching of Gandhiji sleeping to be sent to me if possible. I should like to buy this myself.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. H.N. Brailsford.

## 2. The Message of the Buddha<sup>1</sup>

I have come here on behalf of the Government of India to welcome and receive the relics of the two great sons of India, who lived 2,500 years ago.<sup>2</sup> It is a privilege to me and to the Government I represent to be associated with this occasion. To my mind, it calls up something greater than the present; it calls up a picture of the succession of great men from the days when Buddha flourished in this ancient land and Buddha's message spread the light of wisdom in this country and other countries.

This message is repeated and even the lesser people of the present day are privileged to see the face of that greatness and hear the voice of that great message. The message of Buddha was the message of peace

1. Speech at Calcutta, 14 January 1949. From *Hindusthan Standard*, 15 January and *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, special supplement, 22 January 1949.
2. The sacred relics of the two chief disciples of the Buddha, Sariputta and Maha Moggallana *Arahants*, taken by the British from the Sanchi *Stupa* in 1851 and kept in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, were received back by Nehru and handed over to the Mahabodhi Society of India, Calcutta, on 14 January 1949.

and goodwill, ahimsa or nonviolence and cooperation and doing good even to the doer of evil. This message of Lord Buddha was the eternal message of India. I offer my homage today not only to the sacred relics, but to the great message. The message is even more important than the relics.

In the old days when the message of Buddha went out from India to far-off lands, pilgrims came here from those countries carrying that message. There was coming and going and there was confluence of spirit. Leaving aside all political contingencies and looking at ourselves with detachment we would find that we were all tied together by powerful silken ties.

We do honour to these relics which are here. We do honour to these relics because they represent the eternal truth. Otherwise, what do the ashes represent? We honour these because for a moment we are reminded of the great thing that ultimately typifies the deep meaning of life. Therefore, we honour even the ashes of human beings.

Let this occasion lead us again to a greater occasion when we may be able to bring peace to ourselves and to other countries. I welcome you again and may I hope that the spirit of Lord Buddha will bless us and make our hearts turn to right thoughts and right deeds.

The message of Buddha had swayed the minds of millions of men and women throughout the civilized world and had brought to mankind a message of peace and goodwill. It almost appeared an irony of fate that while Buddhism as a religion extended its force and influence far and wide, it ceased to be a dominant religion in the land of its birth. This, however, was true that although, comparatively speaking, a very small proportion of the Indian people practised Buddhist religion, the message of Gautama Buddha's teachings and the call that he and his disciples gave to the people to observe the right canons of conduct and thought deeply permeated the minds of his countrymen and underwent a slow but steady process of assimilation through successive periods of Indian history and civilization. Even at the present day, India is looked upon by many neighbouring countries with feelings of affection and veneration as having been the land of birth and the scene of activities of Gautama Buddha. Buddhism more than anything else laid the foundation of Greater India and established cultural unity of an abiding value between India and many parts of Asia. A free India can worthily strengthen and revitalize those contacts.

We have attained our political freedom mainly through the efforts of one who, though not a Buddhist by religion, could claim by virtue of his words and deeds to be one of the noblest inheritors of the teachings of Gautama Buddha. Mahatma Gandhi displayed by his life's work not only his individual goodness and greatness, but was a symbol of the best that India could give to the world. No doubt, our political freedom must be followed by well-balanced economic prosperity, for no nation can live and



grow in a continual atmosphere of want, disease and poverty. But let us not forget that neither the future of India nor the future of the world can ever rest on mere material progress. How many of those in whose hands the destiny of nations lies or others, who follow them, feel really informed and inspired by that spiritual quest which made India's great sages and masters truly immortal? The human spirit today is everywhere in anguish and torment. Man has ceased to have respect for these basic human values which India treasured above everything else and which alone form the keystone of human civilization.

If India is to attain her greatness again, if she has to serve not only her own people, but also to contribute to the well-being of humanity at large, she must unlock her rich treasure-house of knowledge and learning which were the true characteristics of India's catholicity and breadth of vision. We must not only encourage the selected few who are competent to penetrate into and unfold their mysteries but also make India's message available to the masses of the people, leading to their moral and spiritual uplift and enlightenment.

India has demonstrated through the ages that not by strife and conflict but by correct understanding and assimilation of diverse faiths and dogmas—not by hatred and violence but by love and goodwill—mankind can find the path towards peace and freedom. We invoke today the blessings of Gautama Buddha on this ancient land of ours, now freed from foreign domination. Let India know herself truly and well, let internal conflicts cease during the difficult period of transition and let us have the faith and courage to march in a spirit of dauntlessness, undeterred by obstacles and fears, towards the attainment of our cherished goal. Let the spirit of Buddha bless us all, bless this country and the world, and fill our hearts with wisdom.

### 3. To Lala Shriram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
17 January 1949

My dear Shriramji,

Thank you for your letter of 10 January.<sup>2</sup>

I entirely agree with you that we should do something to encourage the preservation and growth of Indian culture and arts. I think this should be

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence, 1945-50*, Vol. 8, p. 99.

2. Shriram wrote that with the disappearance of the patronage of Indian princes, Indian artists and writers were suffering near extinction. He suggested State patronage, the setting up of a statutory board composed mainly of experts, publicmen and a few administrators, and a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs allotted for this purpose.

the duty of the State. Indeed, there might well be a special department to deal with it. In France there is a Ministry of Fine Arts. For the present, however, we are not in a position to spread out in any way or to undertake any scheme involving considerable expenditure in money. I hope that something can be done about this later.

With all good wishes to you for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4 To John Matthai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 25, 1949

My dear Matthai,

I am writing to you not as Prime Minister but as an author. I enclose a cutting from the *London Times* giving a letter from George Bernard Shaw.<sup>2</sup>

Authors in India are in a far worse condition than in England and I think they deserve sympathy and encouragement. How exactly this should be done, it is for your Ministry to consider. Perhaps some kind of an average as used to exist in England might help. Speaking from personal experience, I might inform you that in a particular year I have got as much as fifty thousand rupees as royalty and for the next few years practically nothing at all or very little. The fifty thousand rupees have gone almost entirely in taxes, more specially, if I have an additional income as a member of Government. My case however, does not matter. For the present, I am pleading the cause of the average author in India.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In a letter to the Editor of the *Times* on 18 January Bernard Shaw wrote that he himself and all professional authors, playwrights and composers had to live on "certain gambling industries." Though a noted author, he faced "astronomical odds" as a few of his plays had proved "gold mines." It was sensible, Shaw wrote, to fix authors' taxes "not on their actual year's income but on the average for three years."

## 5. To Asaf Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 26, 1949

My dear Asaf Ali,

Thank you for your letter of the 23 January and for your ecstatic description of the Konarak temple.<sup>2</sup> Even Kailas Nath Katju was struck dumb by Konarak. I am most eager to see it. But when I can do so, I have no idea. I fear I shall never go to Orissa, if it means a week's stay there. With a very great effort I might perhaps find two days.

I shall make some effort to go there while Lady Mountbatten is here. This means possibly sometime early in March. But all this is quite uncertain.

About the Utkal University, it is a bit too much to expect me, the Deputy Prime Minister and the Education Minister, all to go there together for any purpose. I am afraid I just can't give a date.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The famous sun temple situated near Bhuvaneshwar, Orissa, was built by Narsinghadev of the Solar dynasty. This artistic temple was constructed in the form of a chariot with 12 pairs of wheels.

## 6. To R.R. Diwakar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 27, 1949

My dear Diwakar,

I enclose a letter received from Herbert Marshall<sup>2</sup> of the Citizen Films Ltd.<sup>3</sup> So far as I know, the man is good from both the technical and the political points of view and has been a good friend of India. We can make further enquiries about him and his firm from our High Commissioner's Office

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (b. 1906); film, theatre and television producer; film producer for Government of India; producer, Natya National Theatre Company, 1957-60.

3. This film company based in London with Herbert Marshall and his wife Fredda Brilliant as directors, produced entertainment features, documentary and educational films.



in London. Subject to these enquiries, I would be inclined to encourage his venture of producing a film on the life and death of Mahatma Gandhi. Of course there need be no commitments on our part, certainly no financial commitments. All that is required is a certain friendly outlook and some cooperation in getting the material.

I should like your Ministry's reactions to this proposal. I know that many Indian film producers are thinking on these lines of producing something relating to Gandhiji's life. I do not know if any one of them is thinking on a big enough scale of this; also their technical competence and objective approach are doubtful.

I should like you and your Ministry to consider this matter. You may yourself, if you like, deal with the High Commissioner in London in regard to any enquiries that might be made. In any event let me know how you feel about it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. Cultural and Moral Values<sup>1</sup>

I am interested to learn that it is proposed to hold a conference on culture, religion, and morals<sup>2</sup> in their relation to social problems. The subject is a fascinating one and undoubtedly has a very great bearing on the problems of today. I cannot speak about religions because that word has so many meanings in different minds and the kind of religion we see about us in every country is more of a husk and a ritual than anything having a real content. Because of this present day aspect of religion, I have not felt attracted to it, though I have little doubt that in its wider and deeper conception, it can be something of great value to life. But that conception is so far removed from what religion is thought to be today by most persons that to use the word may very well produce a wrong impression in many people's minds.

I am convinced, however, that a consideration of cultural and moral values and standards is essential if we have to solve the problems that

1. New Delhi, 29 January 1949. Message to the conference on culture, religion, and morals. PMS file, Speeches and Writings, August 1947-1949.
2. The conference, scheduled to be held at Lucknow on 5 and 6 March, was postponed.

afflict the world today. The most noticeable feature of this world of today, including India, is the divorce between the moral and cultural standards and the business of life. Cultural values progressively lose their significance and fade away, and vulgarity, petty-mindedness, and an absence of any conception of obligation and duties become more and more evident.

We live in a rapidly changing age, when it has become essential to replace our old political and economic structures. Unfortunately we have mixed up even the moral and cultural values with these disintegrating social structures. And so the latter also tend to be ignored and forgotten. To some extent there has to be some substitution of social values when the old structure gives place to new, and new institutions replace the old. Moral standards may take new form and shape. Nevertheless, there must be something permanent in the essential cultural and moral values which does not or should not change. If that changes, then the social structure may lose anchorage completely.

Mahatma Gandhi laid constant emphasis on this vital aspect of human existence. He called it truth and nonviolence, and for him even God was yet another name for truth. We praise the Mahatma and we pay homage to his memory, and yet we stray widely from the path he had pointed out to us. His basic lesson that only through right means can right ends be achieved is seldom remembered. Repeatedly, even in our generation, failure and disaster has faced the world because of wrong methods and wrong means. And yet we go round and round the self-same path, not even learning from hard experience.

Any effort, therefore, to direct people's minds to this basic problem is to be welcomed. There is a danger, however, that we may lose ourselves in vague and metaphysical generalisation, which, though seeming to embody high truths, do not help us very much in our daily tasks. It may be necessary to survey a wide field in order to get a true perspective. But that may also lead us into a dense forest of ideas and problems, and not help us to understand clearly the duty of the moment. There is always a tendency in many of us to seek escapism in high ideals and fine phrases and not trouble to relate them to the business of life as it is today. The problem is essentially not for the few but for the many, and not only for India but for the whole world. There can be no solution of any problem today in the narrow context of a group or even of a nation. We have to think in terms of the world as a whole and then seek to understand our own particular problems in that higher context, whether they apply to morals or culture or politics or economics.

I am afraid I am unable to attend the proposed conference and I rather doubt if I could be of much service even if I attended. But if men of goodwill and intelligence meet together and discuss these problems, which are so important for our national well-being, some good certainly should result.



## 8. To Raghu Vira<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 10, 1949

My dear Dr. Raghu Vira,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of February 8th. I agree with you that our Cultural Attaches should be conversant with Indian history, archaeology, culture, etc. It is equally important that there should be persons who fit in into the environment they are sent to. This applies to every person sent abroad. Otherwise he cannot get the necessary contacts or do useful work. Shri Girdhari Lal Puri<sup>3</sup> was sent to Kabul because of his acquaintance with conditions there and his knowledge of Pushto. Perhaps it is not quite correct to call him a Cultural Attache and I do not know if he is so called. He has been of considerable use to us there.

Cultural Attaches have to perform two functions. They have to get in touch with cultural currents in the country they go to and to take Indian cultural ideas abroad. It is exceedingly difficult to find suitable men who fit in into the foreign environment and can meet people at the other end effectively.

In some of our Embassies Devanagari is being used more and more for our work, notably in Russia. Our communications to the Russian Government from our Russian Embassy are in Devanagari, but it is difficult at the present moment to increase this practice because many of our people who go from South India or from Bengal do not know Devanagari. I hope that gradually they will begin to know it.

You have described the state of affairs in regard to our Embassy in Kabul as disgraceful. I do not know what sources of information you have. But our own information is that our Embassy has done very good work and is very popular in Kabul. In spite of Pakistan propaganda in Kabul the effect of our work has been very considerable and in fact more effective than Pakistan's propaganda. You will permit me to say that we are in a better position to judge of this than others.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (1902-1963); Sanskrit and Hindi scholar; edited *Atharvaveda*; Member of Parliament, 1957-61; founded International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur.

3. Cultural Relations Officer, 1948-54; Officer on Special Duty, M.E.A., 1954-55; Consul of India, Muscat, 1955-57.



## 9. The Need for Stadia<sup>1</sup>

I have read through the note prepared by Mr. de Mello<sup>2</sup> on proposals for "Nehru Stadium in Park" in New Delhi and "Vallabhbhai Patel Olympic Stadium" in Bombay.

2. I am entirely in favour of encouraging sports, games and athletics in India and I think that it is very unfortunate that there is no proper stadium anywhere in the country. Indeed there are hardly any proper running tracks except in Patiala and perhaps at one or two other places.

3. Therefore, I think, Government should encourage in every way the erection of stadium, etc. The details should be considered by a meeting of people interested in it. The Health Ministry can take the initiative in this matter, as suggested. As to who should be invited to this meeting, the matter should be considered carefully so as to get the right persons who are really interested and who help in carrying the proposal through.

4. It seems to me that the proposals made are too ambitious. It is not much good starting on a very big scale and then not being able to keep it up. It may be, of course, that while the scheme is a big one, it can be implemented in stages. Obviously the two places where we should concentrate to begin with are New Delhi and Bombay.

5. I am very much opposed to naming the stadium after me or indeed after any individual. This is a bad habit and should not be encouraged. The stadium can be called the "National Stadium" or some such name.

6. It must be remembered that while Government will look upon the scheme with great favour, any substantial financial contribution is exceedingly unlikely for some time to come.

7. I suggest, therefore, that a meeting of selected persons should be held at a convenient date in New Delhi, that the Health Minister might take steps to this end. This meeting should consider various proposals and make their own suggestions.

8. A copy of this note might be sent to Mr. de Mello by the Health Ministry.

9. There appears to be an additional proposal about a London branch of the National Sports Club.<sup>3</sup> While I think a club of this kind in London would be desirable, I think that this should be a subsequent venture after we have done something in India itself. We cannot take on too many burdens.

1. Note, 11 February 1949. File No. 40(58)/49-PMS.

2. A. S. de Mello (1898-1961); honorary secretary of Cricket Control Board, 1928-37; an active supporter of sports in India.

3. Founded by A. S. de Mello in New Delhi in 1949.

## 10. The Bodh Gaya Temple<sup>1</sup>

With reference to the Bodh Gaya Temple<sup>2</sup> Bill,<sup>3</sup> you might write to the Bihar Provincial Government and make the following suggestion :

It would be desirable to give a certain international character to this temple. Perhaps the Committee as such need not be bigger than it is and may consist, as suggested, of four Hindus and four Buddhists. It might be possible to have a separate advisory committee with no other powers except those of advice. This advisory committee would also consist of Hindus and Buddhists and might have a somewhat larger proportion of Buddhists. Some of these Buddhists might be nominated by the Mahabodhi Society<sup>4</sup>. It should be open to the Mahabodhi Society to nominate non-Indian nationals who are Buddhists. Such an advisory committee would have no executive authority or power but will nevertheless be helpful and will be a graceful gesture to the Buddhist world.

It would be desirable for the Government to consult from time to time the Mahabodhi Society so that the proposals as they finally emerge might be generally acceptable to all concerned.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 15 February 1949. File No. 2(271)/48-PMS.
2. The Bodh Gaya temple in Bihar marks the site where the Buddha attained enlightenment under a pipal tree in the 6th century B.C.
3. The Bodh Gaya Temple Bill, 1948, vested the management of the temple with its properties in a committee consisting of four Hindus and four Buddhists with the Mahant, nominated by the Provincial Government. Both Buddhists and Hindus could worship in the temple without resorting to any mode of worship objected to by followers of other religions.
4. The Mahabodhi Society was founded in Calcutta by Anagarika Dharmapala, of Sri Lanka in 1891 with the object of restoring the holy sites of Buddhism to the Buddhists and reestablishing the faith in its motherland.

## 11. To Baldev Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15 February 1949

My dear Baldev Singh,

I enclose a copy of a letter<sup>2</sup> from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur about Christian churches in India which used to serve the needs of British troops. I entirely agree with her suggestion. First of all, some kind of a list of these churches should be made. Secondly, we should find out which of them are being used by local Christians. Thirdly, if they are not so used, Government should take possession of them and reserve them for the use of children.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(357)/49-PMS.
2. Amrit Kaur suggested on 13 February 1949 that those churches which were not being used and maintained for religious purposes be used as schools and libraries for children.

## 12. Location of the National Museum<sup>1</sup>

I agree with Dr. Chakravarty<sup>2</sup> that Government House cannot be considered as suitable for the permanent location of a national museum. For this purpose we must erect a new building, specially constructed and large enough for the future growth of the museum. I am afraid we cannot undertake any major construction at the present moment. But it is important that a plot of land in a suitable locality should be reserved for the museum. It appears that the Gwyer Committee<sup>3</sup> has recommended the crossing of

1. Note, New Delhi, 15 February 1949. File No. 40(25)/56-PMS.
2. Dr. S.C. Chakravarty, at this time Director of the Archaeological Survey.
3. On 10 September 1945 the Government of India set up a committee of eleven members with Maurice Gwyer as the Chairman to frame details for the establishment of a Central National Museum of Art, Archaeology and Anthropology.



Kingsway and Queensway for this purpose.<sup>4</sup> This matter should be considered now and finalised.

Dr. Chakravarty will please draw up a summary for the Cabinet dealing with this matter only for the time being. The Education Ministry can forward this summary to the Cabinet Secretariat.

While Government House cannot be the permanent location of a museum, it can serve two purposes : (1) It can be a temporary location till better arrangements are made. (2) It can be a place where temporary exhibitions can be arranged, so that there might be some kind of an exhibition more or less continuously. Of course this may not be necessary when a really good museum has been set up. As this will take some time, the Government House may continue to house various exhibits.

The arrangement suggested by Dr. Chakravarty of keeping separate rooms for separate types of exhibits is a good one and this might be done as soon as the present exhibition closes.

As regards the acquisition of one of the Princes' houses for a museum, the idea is a good one. I do not know how far it is feasible. The States Ministry might be approached on the subject. So far as the Hyderabad House is concerned, the Foreign Office has been thinking of acquiring it for its own purposes. It is desirable that some decision might be made soon about some of the Princes' houses which are available so that we may proceed accordingly. Hyderabad House would certainly be suitable for a museum.

Formal announcements by Government for the establishment of a central national museum as well as appeals to Provincial Governments and States and private collectors, should be made after the Cabinet has considered this matter.

4. The Committee thought that the site was suitable for any extension of the museum and for building a new record office or a national library or an art gallery, and also for housing the Central surveys.

1

BUILDING NEW INDIA

VIII. Language





## 1. The Language Controversy<sup>1</sup>

In the India of today and tomorrow, there will be infinite opportunities and openings for those who are fit and competent. Young men should face this prospect with enthusiasm and zest and in a spirit of adventure, without giving way to frustration or a sense of despondency at things which might have gone wrong in the past.

No individual can guarantee for himself success, but every individual can guarantee for himself a good effort, a good run and good work in life whatever might be the result. We have done our job and we have had the joy of it. This is the spirit in which all should work.

The question of language is a subject of great argument today, but unfortunately the argument seems to be conducted mostly by people who know nothing about language. When a question like this comes up in the political arena, other issues are introduced and it becomes impossible to consider it on merits and take a right decision. It seems to me that generally the position that we have to carry on in our own language is obviously correct. It is also obvious that India must keep intimate contact with foreign countries and her people must know foreign languages. Equally also, a language widely known in India will be difficult to give up or replace. The real argument, however, seemed to take place over Urdu and Hindi and Hindustani, particularly in the northern parts.

No real language can be a sort of made-to-order business. A language grows but it may be helped to grow in a particular direction by educational methods. In the past, literary forms of languages were largely sequestered round select circles. Today that is not so and it is going progressively to be less so in the future. Today in any democratic society language tends to change very greatly, sometimes it even deteriorates in the sense of purity but, at the same time, it becomes more vigorous. While in literary style you may have a fine and attractive vehicle though not very vigorous, under democratic development, language gets a certain crudity but vigour and strength also. Of course, we should like to have both but ultimately you have to choose which side you will stress a little more than the other.

Take English which is one of the most powerful languages. It is not as graceful as some other languages but it has a certain vigour. One of the reasons for this is that it is progressively ceasing to be English and becom-

1. Speech at a special convocation held by the Osmania University, Hyderabad, to confer the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, 26 December 1948. From *The Hindu*, 27 December 1948.

ing American: Personally educated in an English University, I do not myself like many of these Americanisms very much but I think these developments are putting new vigour into the English language and numerous words have come into its vocabulary.

All the people who argue about Hindi and Urdu think in terms of importing new terms and expressions or in static terms and opposing all change. Both are incorrect prejudices. People talk about a national language as if a national language was ever made by statute. No doubt a State language can be laid down by law but a national language grows automatically into a national language. You cannot call a language the national language if it is not so in actual fact. It amazes me how many people argue in their ignorance. Anything they do not understand they call Sanskrit or Persian. Instead of owning ignorance they start complaining. The first sign of decay is when we shut the door and shut ourselves in.

At every stage of India's greatness the windows of her mind were wide open. In language also it is more so. Anybody who wants to limit a language kills that language. I find protagonists of Hindi and Urdu always thinking in terms of limiting the language and not expanding it. That is a dangerous thing. For my part I think there is no need for State action in the matter at all. I am quite sure that out of the masses of India the real national language will arise. I realise that after all the masses cannot give fine literary flourishes or touches of beauty to language. That is to be done by the elite. But if the language is to be vigorous, it has to be understood largely by the people.

I do not know how many of you remember that when Kamal Pasha wanted to develop Turkish—he did not like the use of Arabic words in Turkish. He appointed a commission to tour villages and collect good village words and see that these were incorporated and popularised in schools and colleges. This strengthened Turkish tremendously and brought literally Turkish in common touch with the people. That shows that if a language is cut off from the people it will not grow. It might be used in courts among courtiers but it cannot grow in these days of democracy, popular assemblies and parliaments. Those literary cliques and coteries which think in terms of pure Urdu and Hindi are really killing language.

I do not know much about linguistics. But I do know something as to what is beautiful in languages. It takes my breath away when I see these people producing something which they call pure Hindi or pure Urdu which is something as near bombastic nonsense as I can imagine. We have to evolve and create conditions for evolving a powerful language which must have its windows and doors open and imbibe wholesome influences. I welcome into Hindustani a familiar English expression, for example, station, instead of using some fantastic Hindustani word which might not be understood.



Having been for the last thirty years or so in the national movement I naturally wish to speak on many things to you but could not for want of time. I am keen and eager to put my thought before others whether they are students or peasants in the fields. I want them to think over what I say. Look at the picture of India and the world today. I do not know how you react to it. It is a terrible and painful picture, an irritating and frustrating and yet an intensely exhilarating picture, especially for the young who have any zest in life and the spirit of adventure. If they are competent enough they can advance. They have vast opportunities. I hear in Hyderabad, India and elsewhere a repetition of the old tales of government service. Of course, it has to be considered and arranged for. But the openings in the India of today and tomorrow are going to be infinite for those who are fit for them. Therefore, I should like you to face the prospect with enthusiasm, zest and a spirit of adventure and not to be frustrated or despondent over things which might have gone wrong as unfortunately they happen sometimes. We are in a period of enormous change and of potentiality. Many of us may not survive this business but that does not matter. After all what matters is striving our utmost for something which one considers worthwhile.

## 2. Telegram to Sri Krishna Sinha<sup>1</sup>

With reference to agitation in Purulia let me have facts.<sup>2</sup> As you know our policy is to encourage teaching in mother tongue wherever sufficient number demanded. In view of this sudden stoppage of Bengali teaching where large numbers of Bengali speaking persons are concerned seems opposed to general policy as well as to practical convenience.

1. New Delhi, 11 February 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. The Bihar Government decided to replace Bengali by Hindi in primary and secondary schools, and this led to 5,000 students abstaining from schools in Purulia. An appeal was sent to the Prime Minister that the Government's action was "contrary to the decision of the Government of India and goes directly against the fundamental rights of citizens as embodied in the new Constitution of India."



### 3. All india Radio and Documentary Films<sup>1</sup>

I attach two press cuttings which are just examples of other similar criticisms.

2. Criticisms of broadcasts from A.I.R. take the line that the vocabulary used is unintelligible to many who thought they knew the language. Also that the music is not as varied as it should be. I have often heard people tell me that they listen to B.B.C. and Pakistan Radio for the music.

3. So far as the language is concerned, I know that there has been a great deal of argument about it and it is a difficult matter to determine or to satisfy all concerned. But it is to be considered that a considerable number of people in Northern India, in East Punjab, etc., including people in our refugee camps, who are mostly Punjabis or Sindhis, find it difficult to follow A.I.R. broadcasts and have recourse to Pakistan Radio with unfortunate results as this rather frightens them. This applies to Kashmir too where Pakistan accounts are not a cheerful hearing.

4. I think the criticism made that the Ministers' speeches are given too much importance in broadcasts is also justified. Actual facts are not dealt with to the same extent. Thus it is much more important to give some details of the Ganga Khadar scheme than merely to report what I said in a speech there. I think that a special effort should be made to give accounts of the constructive activities of the nation in a popular way. Material may be obtained from the respective Ministries. This should include refugee schemes, river valley developments, Grow More Food campaigns and schemes like the Ganga Khadar one.

5. I have already laid stress, in another connection, on documentary films for educational purposes. In fact, both the documentary films and the Radio should be utilised for educational purposes a little more than is done.

6. One other small matter. Our photographers take excellent pictures and take them in abundance, but they are always concentrating on some individuals. Usually I am the victim or some other Minister. I have no objection to being the victim. But, as I have often pointed out to the photographers, this is not good enough. Apart from the ceaseless repetition of the same person's picture, it must appear to many to be a rather crude way of advertising Ministers and Prime Minister shaking hands with somebody. In fact, they should represent social undertakings and social activities. The P.M. or some other Minister may sometimes come in the corner of a picture.

1. Note to Information and Broadcasting Ministry, 11 February 1949. File No. 43(114) 50-PMS.

#### 4. The Evolution of Languages<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Chairman, Brothers and Sisters,

The Gujarat Vidya Sabha<sup>2</sup> has been in existence for the last 100 years. In a sense, it can be said that it was born, brought-up and attained maturity during the period of British rule in India. It is a product of that period. Now the time has come for a change. You have, therefore, decided to change its name from, I think it was Gujarati Vernacular, to Vidya Sabha. This is right, because I could never understand how one could call one's own language 'vernacular'. If you know the meaning of the word vernacular, it can be said to mean a language of the enslaved. In these 100 years your organisation has served the Gujarati language and literature. Now in this new age it will get a bigger opportunity of service. Till now there were many restrictions and obstacles but because the doors have been opened the question now is how to proceed. What is to be done?

You are well aware of the arguments on the language issue today in our country. Heated arguments are exchanged and in fact those who show their anger most have in fact the least relationship with any language. In fact all those who are involved with the language, like famous literary figures, normally do not like to get involved in trivial and petty issues. They have a different picture of the language altogether. It is unfortunate that the language question is not a literary question but has become a political and a communal one. This is dangerous because I fear that this will have a bad effect on our languages.

A language is necessary, in fact it is the life of any nation. A famous English poet Milton,<sup>3</sup> wrote hundreds of years ago—you show me any language of the world, even if I do not understand it, I can tell you only by looking at it the condition of her people. I can tell by seeing the language as to what their line of thinking is, whether they are intelligent, courageous, coward or weak, and what their good and bad points are—to a large extent this is true. A language reflects the picture of the people and the country where it is spoken. In the same way you can know the history of a nation by reading her literature. You may not get to know the details

1. Address (in Hindi) at the Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 12 February 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. G.V. Mavalankar, the Speaker of Parliament, presided.
2. Founded by Colonel Alexander Forbes, the Gujarat Vidya Sabha started the first newspaper in Gujarati in 1849 and has promoted research in literature and history of Gujarat and other linguistic areas.
3. John Milton (1608-1674).



but you can judge as to the particular periods in her history in which she was well known, strong and great, and the periods of her downfall and decline. If you study the literature of India in her various languages you can get a glimpse of her history. So, the language problem is not a small or a petty question but an important one. This you have to keep in mind. Secondly, a language of a nation cannot grow through legislation or resolution or by an organisation. Legislation may help to some extent or it may obstruct its growth. Ultimately, however, a language is built by the hearts and minds of her people, through usage. If you try to twist or fiddle with the language to give it some shape then there is always a danger of your damaging or breaking something which is so delicate.

These days there is a lot of talk about passing resolutions and about taking decisions but behind that there is no thinking as to whether a resolution can build a language or destroy it. Yes, a nation has to show the direction in which we have to go and it has to encourage and provide opportunities for the growth of a language. But you have to remember that like a flower you cannot make it blossom by uprooting it. A flower blossoms on its own. You may help it in its growth by using fertilizers and water, but you cannot use any force. The government, or any organisation or the people can encourage the growth of a language but that encouragement cannot be official. It is the men and women of letters who have to help in the growth of a language. It is not the law but it is the writers who are the instruments in the growth of a language. All this may be petty talk but what surprises me is that some people believe that the whole country would start speaking a common language or a particular language if we sit together and pass a resolution. This cannot be done in such a way.

It was necessary earlier and is necessary now that our work should be done in our languages. You know that I have nothing against the English language. In fact I like that language. I feel at ease in writing and speaking in that language rather than in my mother tongue. Even if we like it we cannot afford to use the English language in our national work because if we try to do it we will not be able to maintain our contacts with the common people: nor can our nation have an open mind. After all we cannot master a foreign language. We have, therefore, to use our own languages for our work.

In our country we have eleven major provincial languages and it has been our policy to encourage them and use them in our work, in education and other matters. Even then there has to be a common national language not in competition with the provincial languages but for national tasks. It is understandable that Hindi, or call it Hindustani, should be a common language of our country because it is widely spoken and written in one-third of our country. It can be easily understood in other regions



also, at least in one-half of the country, in fact it can be said to be understood in two-thirds of our country. Even if Hindi or Hindustani is accepted as our national language, there is an argument about the acceptable form. This language is one but it has two forms—one is called 'Urdu' and the other 'Hindi'. In between these two forms, or a combination of both is 'Hindustani'. Gandhiji always emphasised that Hindustani should be used as our language. What is the meaning of this? Let us forget the use of these words for a moment, because there is an unnecessarily heated argument about the use of these words.

I have endeavoured to speak to you about this language question because the Gujarat Vidya Sabha has been serving one of the popular languages of India and is serving her literature. In fact I do not speak much on this question except now and then. I have it, however, in my heart because if I had not been caged in by politics I would have spent more time in reading and writing. I feel helpless and imprisoned because I cannot do things I would have liked to do. So this language question has an attraction for me. I am attracted not only because I want good books or good poetry to be written in those languages but because I am convinced that a language makes a powerful impact on the people. It makes an impact on their intellect, on their hearts, on their character, on everything including their work. If you give your people a weak language then the whole race would be weakened and would become useless. If you give them a strong language they will emerge stronger also. On the other hand a weak or a strong language is built by the weak or the strong people themselves. If people are weak their language is also weak, if they are sturdy and strong, agile and clever, so would be their language. So it has two facets and it makes an impact on either side. That is to say, that while language has an effect on her people; on the other hand it is the quality in the people which has an effect on the quality of their language. It is, therefore, very necessary that we should not try to solve the language question by taking a wrong step in emotion or in anger or think that we can mould the languages of India this way or that. We may, however, try to make some impact on them.

There is one more tendency which in my opinion is slightly dangerous. It is that the literatures are not making much impact on our languages; but it is the newspaper writers who are making an impact. Now, writings in newspapers are journalistic not literary, though there may be a few exceptions. This is because these writings are written in haste, at night against the pressure of time—"Write this, do that—translate the message received from Reuters." Since these writings are prepared in haste they cannot be of a good quality. An increase in the number of journalistic writings is no indication of the growth in literature.

I know that there are serious authors — I am not aware of the situation in Gujarat but at least in my province — who are starving. They are poor because they do not know how to make money. They only know how to write poetry or a book and they get cheated by their publishers who purchase outright their royalty rights. Taking advantage of the writers' helplessness, they pay them a paltry sum of Rs. 50 or Rs. 100 and take away their royalty rights and make thousands of rupees on them; and because the writer has sold his copyright he does not have monetary gain from sales. Even the good authors in Hindi, therefore, are not getting opportunities of growth.

You may have noticed that there is something strange in the agitation all over India against Hindi. That is all very well; but no one cares whether the popular Hindi authors are dying of starvation or not. In fact it is they who have to build the Hindi language and not politicians like me by voting and raising their hands. Politicians can only help and their first duty is to see that the actual workers in the field are well fed and that they do not die of hunger. It is strange that no one is thinking about them. I, therefore, always say that the approach to this language question is wrong. Apart from the few authors who have depth in their writings, the language generally is becoming journalistic, due to writing in haste at night. You may know much better about Gujarati language than me, but I can say that at least in Hindi and Urdu, the languages are becoming journalistic. In order to hide or gloss over this tendency authors have begun using big words. They think that because they can use strong vocabulary they have become big authors. You know however that the usage of big words is no indication of good literature. That is something different. It is not the use of big or small words which gives life to a language, but it is the form, style and content. And so, with few exceptions, a wrong type of literature is spreading all over. I fear as to how we shall save our languages from this tendency of politicians and communalists who are encouraging these newspaper writers and not authors of good books. I think this tendency is not only dangerous but also injurious.

It is, therefore, important that we should spell out our principles and choose the direction we have to take. As I mentioned, the work of the provinces can be done in the provincial languages, but the work of the nation as a whole can be done in Hindi or Hindustani, by whatever term we may call it — that is not very important. There are heated arguments about Hindi and Hindustani, and it is argued by some that they would not speak a language under pressure. What they mean by that, is that, they would not change their language under any pressure or threats from minorities. They mean that we are moving closer to Urdu because of the pressure from Muslims and that they say could not be tolerated. You are



aware, however that in India today there is no pressure from the Muslims and shall not be in the future. The situation that existed before is no more there; in fact the situation has turned the other way round. This is a different matter. This is not a Hindu-Muslim question, even if some Muslims or the Muslim League says something.

The fact is that Hindi is our principal language, but its style has undergone a change in different provinces. If you go to East Punjab you will notice that Hindi spoken there is at variance with the one spoken in Allahabad. The language of Allahabad is different from the one spoken in Patna or Benaras. Language changes gradually. It has happened in history, it goes on even now and there is nothing wrong in this. Change is always better because new styles emerge. If you go to England you will find that the language spoken in South England is different in style from that spoken in Yorkshire. This does not mean that there are two languages. There is a difference of style only. Mass education among people and in the universities, is in standard English. There is no change in that.

So we should not be frightened by these differences. Hindi and Urdu are of different styles. The differences in styles of Urdu, Hindi and Gujarati and other languages here have been of a different type because of the effect of the Persian languages in the last two or three hundred years. It did have a healthy effect on the form, because number of words were incorporated in Gujarati and in Hindi. That was the type of change. But the question is not—it is unfair and quite useless to state that—"let us artificially decide—here is Urdu and here is Hindi—let us turn ten yards from here and ten yards from there and Hindustani would stand in between." This is meaningless talk. The fact of the matter is that we have to adopt a language which is understood by the majority of the people. This is a correct approach.

It is, therefore, not a question of Urdu and Hindi. Common language in usage should be adopted. Literary language is the real language but common people do not use literary words in daily work. Now, the question is, where to get the new words? To which language does scientific and technological vocabulary belong? A few of these words have begun to be used by the common people. We have to adopt these words into our language, whether their origin is from English, French, Russian or any other language. This is because any word which we have started using as part of our language, in our daily work, has become part of our language. It has become the seed of our language. Why feel nervous about that? It has become a common word because even a villager has started using it. Secondly, if we attempt to coin new words it would be artificial. We will have then to work very hard and in fact we will erect a wall between the sciences in our provinces, and if new words are adopted it will become



difficult for students to pursue science. Because they will have to cope with different technical words and in the process the distance between them and the world of science would increase.

Technical and scientific words are no longer national today, they have become international. If someone wants to make them national then he cuts himself off from the international science. This is dangerous. If our country had been great in science, it would have been alright, for then people from abroad would have learned our languages to know our science. You know, however, that our country is not great in science. Even now, at least when I studied science, if somebody wanted to pursue science he had to study the German language. There are a number of books on science in English, but in many branches of science it has become necessary to study the German language, otherwise one cannot learn science. This is because science in Germany has advanced. In fact it has become imperative for any serious scientist to learn German, French and English. All these three languages are indispensable and the day is not distant when it will be necessary to learn the Russian language also. It is difficult to say whether our science will reach that stage or not, and whether people would start reading our books. But the fact of the matter is that we are still backward in science. If we coin new terms than we burden our students and they will not be able to study science easily and in the process we will cut ourselves off from international science and technology. This is dangerous and we will become backward. Wherever possible, therefore, all those technological and scientific terms which are in use internationally, and those which we are using in our work, we shall have to retain them and these will become part of our language.

If we have to coin new words, we shall do it in course of time. If we have to coin a new word and if that word is not in usage, then we will have to fall back on the biggest repository of words, that is Sanskrit. It can only come from Sanskrit, in case the doors of other languages are closed. Even now the arguments between Hindi and Urdu concerns only five to ten per cent of the language because eighty five to ninety percent of it is derived from the Sanskrit language. If we keep this principle in mind then we shall not argue about it.

We have to adopt a language which is easy and is understood by the people—the language which is in use. Technical words which are commonly used have to be adopted, otherwise we shall have to adopt international words. If a new word has to be coined then we have to coin a word which can be easily adopted in common usage and preferably from Sanskrit only. If we can adopt an easier word there ought to be no argument about it.

Some people believe that it is criminal to use a foreign word, that it is against the honour and dignity of India. I cannot understand this. We are disgraced, and we feel disgraced because we still use a foreign language in our work. We were taught and educated that way, and that is the sign of our weakness. However, a language is strong when it opens its doors to foreign words. A language grows in strength when its doors are open and it gradually loses its shape when it keeps its doors closed because it does not incorporate new ideas and knowledge of the world. English there is no doubt about it, is now one of the most powerful languages. It is widespread but in addition to this it is powerful. It got additional strength, to some extent also, from other countries, including new countries like America. The greatness of the English language is that it has kept its doors and windows open for all types of words and it easily incorporates a new word from any foreign language. I am not sure, but I think there are at least one thousand Hindi words which have been incorporated into the English language, in fact they have been digested and have become part of the language. You will find these words in the English dictionary. Once I sat down with the dictionary and began counting these words but got tired after going through 300 pages; and I was startled by the number of entries. In this way every year there is an increase of 5000 new words, including new words of science and technology, in the English language. That is how its strength increases. In doing so there is an obvious change that is to say, it is no more a language of Shakespeare or of Milton. It keeps changing but it emerges stronger and it is a powerful language and there is no doubt about it.

It is necessary, now as we are building our languages, that in principle they should have this adaptability of keeping their doors open to words originating from other languages whenever they want. What do we mean by 'whenever they want'? When people want, when people start understanding a particular word and they like that word, then by itself that word becomes a part of their language. A foreign word by usage has become part of our language but some people weigh these words and argue that because it is of foreign origin it should be taken out of the language. This is an artificial approach and an approach which will weaken our language. The question is not that of choosing Urdu, Hindi or Hindustani, this is only a verbal duel. The whole question is about our adopting a simpler language—in which all words in usage are incorporated. I will tell you what is meant by words in usage. Kamal Pasha Atatürk was successful in dealing with the Turkish language. He appointed a commission to go to the villages and compile words which the peasantry used in their daily life—words which were not in usage in the cities. The commission drew up a list of 10,000 words which included 1,000 new words. The Universities were



then instructed to use these words because those words were used by the common people. Some thousands of words got incorporated in the Turkish language and the language emerged stronger. It was insisted that words in common usage among the villagers be made use of in literature.

So, we have to fashion our language on these lines. Then we have to coin new words. This we will have to do but we have to keep in mind that Sanskrit is the base of most of the languages of India whether it is Gujarati Marathi, Bengali or any other. That is our biggest repository and our treasury. New words should be coined from there only or else we shall have to look to some other languages like Persian Chinese. You must be aware of the close relationship between the Persian and the Sanskrit language. In fact Vedic Sanskrit is closer to Pahlavi, the old Persian, rather than to the Sanskrit of Kalidasa. It is more or less one language. There are thousands of common words in between Pahlavi and Sanskrit and therefore it was easier for Persian words to get incorporated into our languages here. This is because the origin of all these languages has been the same.

This is how we have to approach the problem: but how are we to proceed thereafter? I personally feel that some intelligent scholars should draw up a list of words. Any number you want, say it could be three thousand, four thousand or five thousand. I suggest it should not be too many—you may choose four or five thousand words which can be said to be basic Hindi which every individual in India should learn. It will be an all India language. This list of four thousand words should include words in popular usage including popular Urdu words. There need be no argument for inclusion of words like *Pani* or *Jal*. Both these words can be included because both are in popular use and there should be no need to omit one to the inclusion of the other. A list of three, four or five thousand basic words should be drawn up, taught in schools, and should be considered as a foundation for an all-India language. On this foundation you are free to add new words from Sanskrit or English languages in your reading and writing. In course of time a literature is written for the people to read and understand and when the number of people who can understand and read language grows, then literature is accordingly written for them. Then difficult words are not made use of except during conferences of scholars. So a list of basic words should first be drawn up.

Secondly, again I do not claim any knowledge about Gujarati, but at least in the Hindi language there are no quality dictionaries. Only bad dictionaries are available and good dictionaries are just not there. So you see that while there is a lot of shouting in favour of Hindi, in fact nobody is serving the Hindi language as such. There is only a political agitation, but no one is raising the question of the necessity for quality dictionaries, a base for the growth of any language.



In particular we should appoint a commission to draw a list of technical words, to include scientific, industrial and technological words. The list drawn should be common for all languages of India because it would be dangerous to have one meaning for different words one in Gujarati, another in Hindi, and yet another in Bengali. We shall not be able to understand each other in any scientific work. We should, therefore, draw up a common list and put them to use. In drawing up this list of technical words we should not be afraid of adopting words from English, German or any other language. If a word is in popular usage you and I can understand it easily. If you are a teacher of any science subject it is easier to adopt common words of physics and chemistry, like hydrogen and oxygen, rather than substituting them by some Sanskrit word because it will not be easy for the student to grasp so easily and he will unnecessarily be burdened. The whole world can understand the words oxygen and hydrogen. If you approach the language problem in this way there would be no difficulty.

So, I have placed before you some thoughts about this language question. Your Gujarat Vidya Sabha has experience and maturity of a hundred years. It has made a contribution in these long years and new doors are now opened for her to make a further contribution, if I may say so, whereby a solid foundation is laid quickly for all languages to grow faster. You can help, as I said earlier, in preparing a list of technical words. This list shall be for India as a whole and not for a particular province only. You should help in making the languages easier and simpler, such that they could be commonly used.

I have taken most of your time in telling you about the language question because of the nature of your organisation and because this question in particular has been troubling my mind day in and day out. Also because sometimes some people say, "See, Jawaharlal is on one side. We can take a decision about Hindi and all that, but Jawaharlal says Hindustani, Hindustani. He speaks his own kind of language, and has become like a mountain in our path and does not allow anyone to march forward." Well, in certain matters I do want to stand like a rock. On the other hand, you know that this question is not of recent origin, it was there even before Congress and Gandhiji. Gandhiji had laid emphasis on this time and time again. This question came before the Congress and Gandhiji had placed before it his policy. The Hindustani Prachar Sabha<sup>4</sup> was organised and it did some good work in Madras, Andhra and other places, and also abroad as in Malaya and so on. They did not shout nor did they agitate, they only worked, taught and propagated Hindi.

4. Hindustani Prachar Sabha, founded in 1918 at Madras by Mrs. Annie Besant, has four branches, at Hyderabad, Dharwar, Tiruchchirappalli, and Ernakulam, to promote teaching of Hindi and Hindi literature.

I am not concerned by the complaints against me as to the language which should be adopted. However I am concerned about the fact that the language should not be artificial. Let me give you an example though there is no need for it. Well to tell you, the translations today are journalistic, a point that I touched upon earlier. They are literal translations. Now, you are aware of the usage in English, of "imperial preference", which was translated in a Hindi newspaper as *Shahi Pasand*. The expression was correctly but literally translated because the translator did not understand the meaning of the expression. I have noticed that most of my books have been translated well. The Gujarati translation is really very good and has been done by Mahadeva Bhai. But I have noticed that few translations reflect what I really meant. The translators have written something else. Because you have to know both languages very well to do any translation. So I am not anxious about the purity of Hindi language, whether it borrows words from other languages or not.

In fact it is not a question of words. It should be a living thing, not artificial, and a living language is spoken language. It is part of the literature. Then it is a real language. If you go on adding big words to your language by passing a resolution as is being done today then it cannot be real. I get bewildered seeing all this. It is my opinion that Hindi should grow, by incorporating new words from English and some from Persian. This is the correct approach for the language to grow because it is a living language. New words should be incorporated and the doors of the language should remain open because the more the doors remain open the more powerful will the language become. I am sure it will become more powerful if people do not put obstacles in between or turn its direction to the wrong side. If they do it then they will obstruct and stop its growth.

This is how I would like to approach this question and would like you to do the same. Our experts and scholars should think about this and they should prepare a list of technical words and compile dictionaries, and should not criticise those who may be more scholarly. It is a strange approach these days to criticise. If some person uses difficult Hindi he is criticised by people that they cannot understand him. If some persons use Urdu words in their Hindi speech then people shout that they cannot understand them. This is a useless argument. The answer to your not understanding is that you should sit quietly and study for two years. Are you to propagate that you are being foolish or being wise? But in fact we should not use difficult words because then we cut ourselves off from the people.

So you have served Gujarati language for a hundred years. I do not know if any organisation has served Hindi language for 100 years. May



be Hindi Sahitya Sammelan<sup>5</sup> has completed 35 or 40 years, but I am not sure. In any case it is not more than that. So you have had a bigger chance and you have gained more experience. It can be said that you are far ahead than even Hindi because you have a past experience of many years. And so you can help to a large extent in solving our language question. *Jai Hind.*

5. Hindi Sahitya Sammelan was founded in 1910 for the propagation of Hindi in different parts of the country.

## 5. The Question of Language<sup>1</sup>

I am writing this article not as Prime Minister but as an author and as a person intensely interested in the question of language. I am interested in this question because of its political and, unfortunately, communal aspects. Of far greater importance, however, are the wider cultural aspects of this question. Though I am not a scholar in any language, I have loved the beauty of a language, the music of its phrases, and the magic and power that lies in words. I believe that a language is a greater test of a nation's character than almost anything else. If a language is strong and vigorous, so are the people who use it; if it is rather superficial, ornate and intricate the people reflect it. Of course this may be more correctly put the other way about, for it is the people who create the language. But there is some truth also in the language moulding the people. A language which is precise makes the people think precisely. Lack of accuracy and precision in meaning leads to muddled thinking and, consequently, confused action.

A language, which is confined in a strait jacket, with no doors and windows open for progressive change, may be both precise and graceful, but is apt to lose touch with a changing environment and the mass of the people. This inevitably leads to a loss of vigour and growth of a certain artificiality. At any time this would not be good, but in the present dynamic age, with almost everything changing round about us, a strait jacket will deaden a language. The courtly languages of previous ages had much to commend them. But they are totally unsuited to a democratic age where we aim at mass education. A language, therefore, must fulfil two functions: it must base itself on its ancient roots and, at the same time, vary and expand

1. *National Herald*, 13 February 1949.



with growing needs and be essentially the language of the mass of people and not of a select coterie. This is all the more necessary in this age of science and technology and world communication. In so far as possible, that language should have common or similar words with other languages in regard to scientific or technical terms. It must, therefore, be a receptive language, accepting every word, from outside that fits into its general structure. Sometimes that word may be slightly varied to suit the genius of the language.

Classical languages have played a very great part in the development of human society. At the same time they have rather impeded the growth of the popular languages. So long as the learned thought and wrote in the classical language there was no real growth of the popular languages. In Europe Latin came in the way of growth of the European languages — till about the 16th century. In India Sanskrit had such a dominating influence that the Prakrit and what subsequently became provincial languages, were rather stunted. Later Persian also became a language of the learned in large parts of India and this also came in the way of the growth of popular languages in some parts of India.

In India we are rightly committed to the growth of our great provincial languages. At the same time we must have an all-India language. This cannot be English or any other foreign language, although I believe that English, because of its world position and the present widespread knowledge of it in India, is bound to play an important part in our future activities. The only all-India language that is possible is Hindi or Hindustani or whatever it is called.

These are certain basic propositions which we must bear in mind in considering this vital question. We must remember that any hurried decision of it on a political plane or under the influence of momentary passions or prejudices, may well prove harmful. We have to build for the future and a false foundation may well stunt our future growth not only linguistically but in the wider domain of culture and human advancement. It is far better to go slow and avoid every kind of rigidity. Language is a very delicate instrument, evolved in its higher aspects by fine minds and strengthened by the popular use of it. It grows like a flower and too much external compulsion retards that growth or twists it into a wrong direction.

It is not very material what we call this language, whether Hindi or Hindustani, except for the fact that every word has a history behind it and connotes something very definite, which limits its meaning. What we must be clear about in our minds is the inner content of the language and the way it looks at the world, that is, whether it is restrictive, self-sufficient, isolationist and narrow, or whether it is the reverse of this. We must deliberately aim, I think, at a language which is the latter and which has there-

fore a great capacity for growth. The English language, probably more than any other today, has this receptiveness, flexibility and capacity for growth: hence its great importance as a language. I should like our language to face the world in the same way.

I am distressed at the way this question of language is considered and debated in India today. There is little of scholarship behind this argument and less of culture. There is no vision or thought of the future. Language is looked upon more as a kind of extended journalese and a perverted nationalism which demands that it should be made as narrow and restricted as possible. Any attempt to expand it is branded as a sin against this form of nationalism. Beauty in a language is often supposed to be an extreme ornateness and the use of long and complicated words. There is little vigour or dignity in evidence and one gets the impression of extreme superficiality and shallowness. Just as poetry is not a mere collection of rhymes and metres, so also a language is not just a display of intricate and difficult words. Recent attempts to translate well-known common words from English are fantastic in the extreme. If this tendency persists, that surely is murder of a fine vehicle for the expression of thought.

If I was asked what is the greatest treasure that India possesses, and what is her finest heritage, I would answer unhesitatingly, it is the Sanskrit language and literature and all that this contains. This is a magnificent inheritance and so long as this endures and influences the life of our people so long will the basic genius of India continue. Apart from its being a treasure of the past, it is, to an astonishing degree, for so ancient a language, a living tradition. I should like to promote the study of Sanskrit and to pursue our scholars to work to explore and bring to light the buried literature in this language that has been almost forgotten. It is surprising that while we talk so much of language in terms of an extreme nationalism, only lip homage is paid to it or it is exploited for political ends. Very little is done to serve it as a language should be served. Whether in Sanskrit or in the modern Indian languages, constructive work is rare. We often follow a dog in the manger policy of disliking any other growth and at the same time not doing anything ourselves. A language will grow ultimately because of its inherent worth and not because of statutes or resolutions. Therefore, the true service of a language is to increase its value, practicability and inherent worth.

However great Sanskrit may be, and however much we may like to promote its study, as we should, it cannot be a living language. But it must be, as it has been, the base and inner substance of most of our languages. That is inevitable. But an attempt to force this is neither inevitable nor desirable and is likely to lead to evil results.



Persian has played an important role in the last few centuries in developing some of our provincial languages, more especially Hindustani and has affected our ways of thinking also to some extent. That is an acquisition and it makes us richer to that extent. It must be remembered that no language is nearer to Sanskrit than Persian, and indeed Vedic Sanskrit and ancient Pahlavi are nearer to each other than Vedic Sanskrit and classical Sanskrit. So a certain over-lapping of the two is easy and does no violence to the genius of our language or our race. In any event a few hundred years of history and the life of the people have fashioned us for what we are and it seems to me rather absurd and certainly unwise to try to undo this work of history. From the cultural point of view, such an attempt at undoing and going back would mean depriving us of a cultural heritage which we possessed. It would mean making ourselves poorer. We should rather aim at richness and at accepting whatever adds to that cultural content. Therefore, any attempt at excluding what we have already absorbed is wrong from every point of view.

If these considerations are borne in mind, it follows that the all-India language that we should seek to promote must be flexible, receptive and must retain all the cultural features that it has imbibed through the ages. It must also be a language essentially of the people and not of a small coterie of learned men. It must be dignified and full of power and it must rigorously try to put down artificiality, shallowness and ornateness. Inevitably its base and a great deal of its content will be derived from Sanskrit, but it will include any number of words, phrases and ideas from other sources, notably Persian and also English and other foreign languages. In regard to its technical terms we should first of all accept every word that has been accepted in popular use. In coining new words, we should again try to approximate to popular use and understanding, and in regard to technical words, as far as possible, we should not detract from the world of language that is growing up.

It would be desirable to collect a number of basic words, say 3000 or so which might be considered well-known common words, used by the people generally. These may often include alternative words for the same idea, provided both are in common use. This should be the basic vocabulary which every one, who desires knowledge of the all-India language, should know.

Yet another list of technical words should be prepared on the lines indicated above. I must say that many of the new words being used for technical terms are so extraordinarily artificial and meaningless in the real sense of the word, because they have no background or history behind them, that they horrify me.



If these two lists are prepared, the rest should be left to the natural growth of the language. No limitations should be put on anyone writing on what might be called pure literary Hindi or pure literary Urdu or anything in between. With the growth of education and a vaster reading public, this itself will exercise a powerful influence on the writers and speakers. Gradually, I have no doubt, that a fine and vigorous language will grow and expand without any compulsion from above.

It is an astonishing thing that while we argue so much about a language we have hardly any proper dictionaries. Look at any other great language of the world, how many dictionaries and encyclopedias and the like there are in it? Our test of language has become something which is used in a court room or in a school textbook. Our dictionaries are also meant for school boys. One of the earliest steps to be taken, therefore, is to concentrate on the production of scholarly and comprehensive dictionaries, both in Sanskrit and in our modern languages.

As I have said above, it is the content of a language that counts and not the name so much. Judging from the content I have indicated above, and using the words as they are used today, the word Hindustani comes nearest to the content of my choice.

As for the script, it is clear that the Nagari script will be the dominant script. But again, because I think it wrong to be exclusive, both from the cultural and political points of view, I think that the Urdu script should be recognised and taught, where desired. We cannot ask all people to learn both these scripts. That is too much of a burden. But the Urdu script should be recognised more especially for presentation of documents and other papers and for teaching in schools where a sufficient number desire it.

This fits in with our general language policy, which has been declared both in the Congress and the Constituent Assembly—that every child should be given primary education in his or her mother tongue, provided there are a sufficient number of pupils in a particular place to make this practical. Thus in Bombay or Calcutta or Delhi if there are a sufficient number of Tamil-speaking children, they should have an opportunity to have their primary education in Tamil. If in any part of India there are a sufficient number of children, whose home language is Urdu, they should be taught the Urdu script in addition to the language of the province. This principle has been accepted and it is desirable to give effect to it in practice as soon as possible. Many difficulties arise at present, more especially in the areas where two provinces meet together. On either side of this border there is a bilingual area. It is necessary here, even more than elsewhere, that primary education should take place in the mother tongue.

I do not think it is possible for us to adopt on any wide scale the Roman script. But it must be remembered that the Roman script has been

used with great effect in the army. It has been found very easy to teach the Roman script and it has proved a certain unifying force in the army. Therefore it would be desirable to explore the possibilities of the Roman script and to use it where possible or desirable.

I stated at the beginning of this article that I wrote as an author. May I put in a word for authors, more especially for authors in Hindi and Urdu. It has pained me greatly to see how some of our best and most promising authors have suffered at the hands of publishers and have often been exploited by them. While journalists flourish, the real author of talent has little chance. I know of cases where publishers have bought up the copyright of books in Hindi for a mere song, because the poor author was starving and had no other choice. Those publishers managed to make a good deal of money out of these books, and yet the author continued to starve. I think this is a scandal and a public disgrace and I would appeal to the publishers of such books not to take this unfair advantage of authors. Publishers will only flourish if authors flourish. It is a foolish policy, even from the publishers' point of view, to kill the author or to prevent him from doing worthwhile work. But from a national point of view this question is even more important, and it is up to the nation to see to it that our authors of talent have an opportunity to do good work.

## BUILDING NEW INDIA

## IX. Realignment of Provinces





1. To N.V. Gadgil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 7, 1949

My dear Gadgil,

May I suggest to you that it would be desirable for Ministers not to discuss the very controversial linguistic provinces issue in public? The matter is full of difficulty and has to be handled ultimately by the Cabinet with great care. It would be unfortunate if members of the Cabinet express themselves in different and contradictory ways in public.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. At Allahabad on 26 December 1948, Gadgil said that as the Constitution of India made it certain that India was going to be a federal State it became necessary to lay down certain principles on which decentralisation of administration and delimitation of provinces should be effected. Maharashtrians "only claim that when delimitation begins the three Marathi-speaking areas should be united in one administrative unit." The proposal to make Bombay a separate province was to him fraught with the gravest danger.

2. To T. Prakasam<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
10 January 1949

My dear Prakasam,

Thank you for your letter of the 8th January.<sup>2</sup>

I quite appreciate what you say and I would gladly go far to meet your wishes in this matter. We shall give every consideration to it. But you will appreciate that no one who is in a responsible position can, at this present juncture, do anything which might upset a very delicate balance. I should like to have a little peace or the semblance of peace for some time. After that we can go ahead in many directions.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(66)/48-PMS.

2. T. Prakasam wrote that he and the people of Andhra hoped that "the Andhra area would be separated not on linguistic basis solely but on administrative grounds, as well." He also wanted Nehru to take necessary steps to list Andhra in Schedule 1 of the draft Constitution.

### 3. To Bal Krishna Kaul<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
12 January 1949

My dear Bal Krishna,  
I have your letter of the 10th January.

I do not know exactly how matters have proceeded but it seems to me inevitable that Ajmer-Merwara should become part of a larger unit. As a small unit it can never have that degree of autonomy which the people of Ajmer no doubt want, nor can it make much progress. Your argument that Ajmer should not be tagged on to politically backward areas is sound so far as it goes. But surely we are aiming at the same degree of autonomy in administration even in the unions of States as in the Provinces. We may have to pass a short period of adjustment, but the end is quite clear. You yourself say that this can be done when the Union of States falls in line politically with other Provinces. That is exactly what they should and must do.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 28(11)/48-PMS.

### 4. To N.V. Gadgil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 17, 1949

My dear Gadgil,  
Thank you for our letter of the 12th January about linguistic provinces and the part Ministers should take in public discussions.

We need not discuss the past. I am more concerned with the future and I think that it will not help at all if Ministers speak in different voices on this very controversial question.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.



## 5. To Pattabhi Sitaramayya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 4, 1949

My dear Pattabhi,

You will remember that when the Linguistic Provinces Sub-Committee met we discussed the broad aspects of the problem. It was decided that we should meet again and consider a note which you might prepare.

At that meeting it was pointed out that any agitation on this question should be discouraged. More particularly that members of the Working Committee should not encourage or participate in any such agitation.

There has been a great deal in the press on this subject recently and some of the statements you have made have been commented upon and enlarged.<sup>2</sup> It has been stated that the Linguistic Provinces Sub-Committee has come to certain conclusions about the formation of certain new provinces etc. I am sure you could not have said anything of this kind because we never came to any such decision and in fact we discussed the difficulties in the way. It is obvious, however, that a great deal of public misapprehension has been created.

I now find that Shankarrao Deo is carrying on a strenuous propaganda on behalf of linguistic provinces and more specially of Maharashtra.<sup>3</sup> I am told that he has gone to some place in Kerala to attend a meeting in this behalf.<sup>4</sup> I am also told that another member of the Working Committee, Nijalingappa,<sup>5</sup> has convened a conference of M.L.As from various Provinces in Bombay for this purpose.

I confess that I do not understand at all the propriety of members of the

1. J.N. Collection.

2. On 13 January, Pattabhi Sitaramayya had reported to have said at a press conference in Madras that the linguistic division of the country was an accepted principle of the Congress and the time had come when a beginning had to be made "to prove our *bona fides*," thereby disagreeing with the recommendations of the Linguistic Provinces Commission. He particularly referred to the demand for linguistic provinces in Central and Southern India, and said that the problem did not have the same urgency in the north as in Madras, Central Provinces and Bombay where three or four languages prevailed and people did not understand one another in the legislature.

3. On 25 January 1949, Shankarrao Deo in a press conference at Pune, said that unless the principle of linguistic provinces were accepted in the Constitution of free India, there would be no people's raj. The demand for "Samyukta Maharashtra" was, according to him, an old demand based on fundamental principles.

4. He presided over the Aikya Kerala Convention at Alwaye, Travancore, on 6 February for immediate formation of a united Kerala.

5. S. Nijalingappa (b. 1902); imprisoned 1939, 1942-44; Member, Constituent Assembly, 1946-50; Member of Parliament, 1952-56; Chief Minister, Karnataka, 1956-58 and 1962-68.

Working Committee doing this kind of thing. Apart from the possibly dangerous consequences involved in this, surely a member of the Working Committee should not indulge in such activity when the Working Committee and a Sub-Committee of it are considering the question. I have refrained from saying anything in the matter because I wish to avoid public controversy between colleagues. But some of us are put in a very embarrassing position and a public controversy may become inevitable if this agitation is carried on in this way by some of our colleagues.

More of Maharashtra has, I understand, threatened to start a civil disobedience movement for a Maharashtra Province.<sup>6</sup> We cannot stop More from doing what he wants to do and taking the consequences. But this shows that people are playing with fire and acting with extreme irresponsibility. At any time this would be undesirable. At the present moment it is peculiarly so.

I think it should be made perfectly clear what Working Committee members should do or should not do in this matter. The one thing that the Working Committee has stood for in the past is a kind of joint front before the public. If that goes, then the Committee will not have much prestige left or any capacity for influencing public opinion as a Committee. Therefore, it has become essential to clear up this matter.

I might add that I have had a talk with Sardar Patel on this issue and we both agree in regard to what I have written above. I suggest that a meeting of the Sub-Committee should be held fairly soon.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. S.S. More, a Maharashtra Congress Committee member, who later on became M.P. in 1952, from Peasants and Workers' Party, was threatening to launch satyagraha, as the proposal of the Linguistic Provinces Sub-Committee to merge Bombay with Maha-Gujarat had disturbed the people of Maharashtra to a great extent.

## TOWARDS INDONESIA'S FREEDOM





1. Cable to C.R. Attlee<sup>1</sup>

I thank you for your message dated the 18th and 20th December, which your High Commissioner has communicated to me. You will recall our apprehension, based on information that we received from our representative in Batavia,<sup>2</sup> that the Dutch would take military action against the Republic in Indonesia, soon after dispersal of the U.N. Assembly. This has now come to pass, and all the pressure which the U.S.A. and the U.K. may have exerted on the Dutch Government has proved unavailing. In an aide memoire, addressed to us, the Dutch Ambassador has given a version of events leading up to the present "police action" which I can only describe as travesty of facts.<sup>3</sup> This document also asserts that no friendly government or international organisation can usefully intervene to bring about a peaceful solution of the differences between the Dutch Government and the Indonesian Republic. It remains to be seen what the Security Council can or will do in the circumstances. That a member of the United Nations should thus procrastinate and ultimately defy the authority of the United Nations cannot possibly enhance the already damaged prestige of the United Nations. Since Holland is a member of the Western Union<sup>4</sup> and clearly dependent for its economic and military rehabilitation upon U.S. and, to less extent, U.K., it seems inevitable that at least the people of Asia should think that Anglo-American aid is being used by the Dutch to crush the Indonesian Republic and that, had these Powers really desired a just settlement of the Dutch-Indonesian dispute, they could have effectively intervened with the Dutch to secure this objective. I need not repeat what I have already told you regarding the effect of Dutch military action on opinion in Asia in general, and South East Asia in particular. There will be prolonged and fierce guerilla warfare in Indonesia, in spite of the capture of the Republican capital. Nationalism throughout South East Asia will actively ally itself with Communist and any other elements that

1. New Delhi, 20 December 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Dr. S.C. Alagappan.

3. The Dutch aide memoire, dated 19 December, claimed to find it impossible to implement the agreements concluded with the Republicans. On 11 December the Dutch Government charged the Republic with "lack of cooperation", called off the truce on 18 December and the next day started military action following which all the Republican leaders of Indonesia were arrested.

4. The Western Union was formed in March 1949 by Belgium, Britain, France, Luxembourg and the Netherlands to strengthen their economic, social and cultural ties and to provide mutual assistance in the event of an attack.

may be prepared to join the struggle for freedom against colonial imperialism. The Dutch action has imperilled peace and stability not only in Indonesia but throughout South-East Asia for an unpredictable period.

2. We do not think that we can consistently, with our sympathy for the Indonesian cause, keep our representative in Batavia. Apart from considerations of sentiment, his presence there would serve no useful purpose hereafter. We also see no purpose in allowing the Dutch Ambassador<sup>5</sup> to continue in New Delhi. The break in our diplomatic relations with Holland, which we now contemplate, is unavoidable. I have thought it desirable to inform you of our intention and shall appreciate such indication as you may be able to give of the intentions of your own Government *vis-a-vis* Holland. I am asking our Ambassador in Washington to make a similar communication to the State Department.

3. In the Dutch Ambassador's aide memoire already referred to, it is suggested that one reason for their military action was their knowledge that President Soekarno was about to visit India. It is contended that this visit to India proved that Indonesian Republic had no intention of carrying on negotiations with the Dutch. Soekarno's visit to India was arranged some time ago and the Dutch inference is entirely baseless.<sup>6</sup>

5. A.T. Lamping.

6. It was reported in British and American newspapers that Indonesian leaders were visiting Delhi for establishing a government in exile.

## 2. Cable to Charles Smith<sup>1</sup>

For some time past, we in India have been apprehensive that the Netherlands Government would take military action against the Republic in Indonesia soon after the dispersal of the U.N. Assembly. This has now come to pass and all the advice, tendered to the Netherlands Government by friendly Powers, has proved unavailing. The Netherlands Government in announcing their resort to 'police action', asserted that no friendly Government or international organisation could usefully intervene to bring about a peaceful solution of the differences between the Netherlands Government

1. New Delhi, 22 December 1948. J.N. Collection. This message was sent to Charles Smith (1877-1964); American journalist resident in London for International News Service of New York.



and the Indonesian Republic. It remains to be seen what the Security Council can or will do in the circumstances. That a member of the United Nations should thus procrastinate and ultimately defy the authority of the United Nations is a great blow to the prestige of that Organisation. It is the solemn duty of all members of the United Nations who respect the Charter to exert their utmost to put an immediate end to Dutch aggression. Since Holland is a member of the Western Union and clearly dependent for its economic and military rehabilitation upon U.S.A. and, to a less extent United Kingdom aid, these two Powers can do a great deal to bring about this result. India's sympathy with the aspirations of the Indonesian people to secure their freedom is well known. It was India who first carried the Indonesian issue to the Security Council in 1947. She will spare no effort to ensure that Indonesia takes her place among the free nations of the world. Meanwhile I can only utter the warning that unless the United Nations succeed in bringing about immediate cessation of fighting in Indonesia, a withdrawal of Dutch forces to their original positions, and a resumption of negotiations through the Good Offices Committee for a quick and peaceful settlement of the dispute, there will be prolonged and fierce guerilla warfare in Indonesia in spite of the capture of the Republican capital. Dutch action has imperilled peace and stability not only in Indonesia but throughout South East Asia for an unpredictable period. If it is not stopped, the whole of Asia will feel that European imperialism still seeks to keep the people of the East in political and economic subjection and the struggle for Asian freedom will take on a new intensity which cannot but be a source of anxiety to all lovers of peace and freedom.

### 3. Cable to Thakin Nu<sup>1</sup>

I am grateful for your prompt reply and assurance of active cooperation in measures that we might take to support Indonesian Republic. I have had no answer yet from United Kingdom and U.S.A. Governments, whom I have addressed in terms already known to you. Both U.S.A. and Australia have tabled resolution for Security Council, requiring immediate ceasefire and return of troops to positions held before Dutch action and requesting Good Offices Committee to report immediately on conditions, including

1. New Delhi, 22 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

assessment of responsibility for present action. We have asked our Minister in Berne, now in Paris,<sup>2</sup> to support this resolution and to keep in close close touch with U.S.A. and other members of Council. We have also asked other Governments in Asia to lend their full diplomatic support, and neighbour countries such as Pakistan and Ceylon to cooperate in measures that we might take to deny to KLM Airlines freedom to fly or facilities to land in our territories.<sup>3</sup> We intend to take such action tomorrow, and hope that Pakistan and Ceylon will do likewise. I would request that if, as a result of denial of facilities by us, KLM should seek to fly across or ask for facilities to land in Burma you will deny these. For the rest, I feel that we ought to await result of debate in Security Council before deciding what our next step should be.

In view of need of immediate action to stop hostilities in Indonesia, I think that all our efforts should be concentrated on that. A conference will take time to convene. Should development necessitate representatives of like-minded Asian countries meeting together to determine concerted action in support of Indonesian Republic, India will gladly take necessary initiative. Meanwhile, we shall keep in touch. Best wishes.

2. Dhirubhai Desai.

3. On 24 December, India, Pakistan and Sir Lanka imposed a ban on the Dutch airline KLM's operations in or in transit across their countries.

#### 4. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan<sup>1</sup>

Many thanks for your telegram 6113 dated 22nd December. I entirely agree that it would create a very good impression throughout the world if your Government and mine could make simultaneous declaration with regard to KLM services to and over India and Pakistan. Our High Commissioner in Karachi should have informed you by now of our intention to stop these services from 1 A.M. tonight and I sincerely hope that you will be able to do likewise. As token of our sympathy with Indonesia, it is impor-

1. New Delhi, 23 December 1948. File No. 4-FEA/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.



tant that any action that we decide to take should be taken without delay. Following is text of our proposed announcement. Begins: In view of the military action taken by the Dutch Government against the Republic of Indonesia, the Government of India have decided to suspend the rights of operation of KLM in or in transit across India. Necessary instructions are being issued to aerodrome authorities not to clear KLM aircraft to any Indian airport or flights in transit over Indian territory. No fuel will be issued to KLM aircraft at Indian airports with effect from 1 A.M. (Indian Standard Time) December 24th, 1948.

2. Since the Dutch operations against Indonesia amount to a state of war between the Dutch Government and *de facto* Government of Indonesia which both India and Pakistan have recognised, we are advised that the action that we intend taking is permissible under Article 89 of International Civil Aviation Convention.

## 5. Cable to Mohammad Yunus<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram No. 1003 dated 23rd December. We are taking up energetically matter of your ill-treatment by the Dutch. I am sorry that you should have suffered in this way.<sup>2</sup>

As regards your return, please await instructions. Our general action as regards diplomatic relations with Dutch would depend on the results of the debate on the Indonesian issue which is now in progress in the Security Council.

Best wishes to you both.

1. New Delhi, 24 December 1948, J.N. Collection.
2. Mohammad Yunus, Vice Consul of India in Jogjakarta at that time, was with Soekarno and his associates for whom the Government of India had sent a special plane. With the outbreak of Dutch military action on 19 December, the Dutch authorities in Jogjakarta delayed in giving clearance permit to the Indian plane and Mohammad Yunus was held back while the plane returned to India empty after two days.



## 6. Cable to C.R. Attlee<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram of the 30th December.<sup>2</sup> Visit of Dr. Drees<sup>3</sup> and Dutch Ambassador in London<sup>4</sup> to Indonesia. I am referring the matter to the President of the Security Council. If Council is agreeable to our giving the facilities asked for, we shall certainly do so.

1. New Delhi, 30 December 1948. File No. 4-FEA/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Despite 'unwise' Dutch action Attlee requested India and Pakistan to grant facilities and a safe conduct to a special Dutch aircraft carrying Prime Minister Drees and his party, as his visit to Indonesia was an "encouraging sign" of the Dutch desire for a solution.
3. Wilhem Drees (1886-1988); Dutch Minister for Social Affairs, 1945-48; Prime Minister, 1948-58.
4. J.E.M. Van Verduynen.

## 7. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan<sup>1</sup>

You will have received Mr. Attlee's message asking that Pakistan and India give facilities to Dr. Drees, Netherlands' Prime Minister, and the Dutch Ambassador in London, to proceed to Indonesia. Since Security Council is now seized of this dispute, I am informing Attlee that we are approaching President, Security Council, and that, if he agrees to provision of facilities asked for, we shall give them. I hope that you will find it possible to harmonise your action in this matter with ours.

1. New Delhi, 30 December 1948. File No. 4-FEA/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.

8. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

We have received a message from Attlee<sup>2</sup> through the U.K. High Commissioner here in regard to Indonesia. There is nothing special in this except to state that the U.K. Government deplore Dutch action and are doing their utmost in the matter.

2. We are entirely dissatisfied with the Resolution of the Security Council<sup>3</sup> and the part taken up by the U.K. Government's representatives there. Please convey the following message to Mr. Attlee. Begins.

I thank you for your message about Indonesia which our High Commissioner in Delhi has sent to me. Since then other events have taken place including the passing of a resolution by the Security Council.

I must confess to you that my Government are of opinion that the resolution of the Security Council is totally inadequate and is in effect an acceptance of Dutch military aggression in Indonesia. A ceasefire accepting the present position is entirely in favour of the Dutch and is an invitation to any aggressor who indulges in such action. The whole record of the Dutch in regard to Indonesia has been one of continuous aggression and refusal to compromise. In our opinion the Indonesian Government went too far in their efforts to compromise with the Dutch and even so, they did not succeed. Nothing short of a complete Dutch withdrawal to the position previous to their action can meet the present situation. We regret greatly that the U.K. Government did not support the proposals put forward by the U.S.A. and Australia in this matter.<sup>4</sup> The Government of India can not reconcile itself with the openly imperialist and aggressive policy of the Dutch in Indonesia. In this, they believe they have the full support of other countries in Asia and elsewhere. It will be most unfortunate if the impression spreads in Asia that the U.K. Government is passively supporting the Dutch in Indonesia.

1. New Delhi, 30 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. In his message dated 28 December 1948 Attlee criticised Dutch aggression in Indonesia and wrote of earnest British efforts to solve the impasse.

3. The resolution passed on 24 December 1948 called only for a ceasefire and immediate release of the Republican leaders by the Dutch Government.

4. The United States and Australia proposed immediate end of hostilities under the supervision of the Good Offices Committee and withdrawal to the respective demilitarized zones; the Good Offices Committee to assess the responsibility of the outbreak of hostilities and report to the Security Council; release of all the political prisoners and leaders including Dr. Soekarno; and no reprisals by either party.

## 9. Dutch Ill-treatment of Indian Representative<sup>1</sup>

I saw a telegram today from our Consul General in Batavia about Yunus's complaints of ill-treatment.<sup>2</sup> I have not got the telegram with me now. But so far as I remember, it stated that as Yunus's account was likely to be contradicted by the Dutch, or was actually so contradicted, it was one word against another, and therefore nothing further need be done. I do not understand this attitude. If our representative complains of ill-treatment, we should accept his word for it and do not balance it with what the Dutch say. We cannot do very much about it. But we must certainly protest to the Dutch regardless of what they say in the matter.

I do not know all the facts, but if what I have stated above is correct, I think that we should inform our Consul General to protest vigorously to the Dutch.

1. Note to the Secretary General, Ministry of External Affairs, 30 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. See *ante*, item 5.

## 10. Proposed Conference of Asian Countries<sup>1</sup>

While the U.S.A. have stopped Marshall Aid for the Netherlands Indies, they have not stopped it for Holland.<sup>2</sup> I think this should be emphasised in our circular letter of invitation. Our Ambassador in Washington should also be asked to press for this...

I do not know what more can be said to the Arab League.<sup>3</sup> But this fact of the Dutch airplanes and ships not being given facilities, might also be mentioned in our circular letter of invitation to the Arab League countries.

1. Note to the Secretary General, Ministry of External Affairs, 30 December 1948. J.N. Collection. Extracts.
2. On 22 December the United States declared that it had halted all Marshall Aid to the Netherlands East Indies depending on the settlement of hostilities with Indonesia. But aid to Holland remained unaffected.
3. J. Mohamed Rashid, Indonesian representative in Cairo, appealed to the Arab League members on 21 December to intervene and put an end to Dutch aggression in Indonesia.



## 11. Appeal to United Nations by Asian Countries<sup>1</sup>

We are grateful for friendly response of Egyptian, Turkish, Burmese, Chinese, Iranian, Afghan, Pakistan and Ceylon Governments to our suggestions regarding support for Indonesian cause. Under Charter of U.N. and Security Council's Rules of Procedure, only members of Council, or Member Governments which may have brought dispute before Council, are entitled to be heard by Council. We feel that a communication to Council in identical terms by Asian countries in sympathy with Indonesian struggle for freedom will have powerful effect on Council and also on international opinion. We suggest the following:

The sudden Dutch attack on Indonesian Republican forces and Republican territory has come as a grave shock to all liberty-loving peoples in Asia. It is an act of aggression against a people struggling for their freedom. It is a challenge to the authority of the United Nations, whose Committee of Good Offices working for a peaceful settlement, has been ignored. The orders of the Security Council for an immediate ceasefire and a release of the Republican leaders have not been complied with by the Dutch Government. Even if they were complied with, they would not, by themselves create the conditions necessary for free negotiations. What is essential is not only that the wishes of the Security Council regarding a ceasefire and the release of Indonesian leaders should immediately be carried out but also that the Indonesian people should be made to feel that the United Nations have done justice by requiring the Dutch to withdraw to the positions which they held when the present military operations began and by ensuring that this unprovoked resort to force will be fully investigated and responsibility for it clearly laid on those on whom that responsibility rests. The Governments of Egypt, Turkey, Burma, China, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Ceylon earnestly urge the Security Council to take immediate steps to secure fulfilment of these two conditions. Only thus can the authority of the United Nations be vindicated and the way prepared for an honourable and amicable settlement in Indonesia. The alternative is a long and fierce struggle between the disciplined armed might of an alien power, seeking to impose its will on a people determined to secure their independence, and Indonesian patriots, unequal, perhaps, to their opponents in armament and organised military prowess but ins-

1. Cable to Indian Representatives in Cairo, Ankara, Rangoon, Nanking, Teheran, Kabul, Karachi and Colombo, New Delhi, 30 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

pired by an unconquerable will to freedom which must ultimately prevail. The threat of such a prolonged conflict in South East Asia to world peace is too patent to need elaboration or iterated emphasis.

2 We have asked acting Australian High Commissioner<sup>2</sup> to repeat the foregoing to his Government and let us know whether they would be willing to make a similar approach to the Security Council.

2. H.R. Gollan.

## 12. Proposal for Ministerial Conference of Asian Countries at New Delhi<sup>1</sup>

Security Council has now adjourned until 6th January (when it will reassemble at Lake Success) without taking any action on what is tantamount to Dutch refusal to comply even with inadequate resolutions adopted so far. While written communication by like-minded Asian Governments in terms suggested in telegram No. 1120 dated 30th December<sup>2</sup> will be useful, Government of India feel that continued Dutch intransigence is more than mere possibility. It would greatly help Indonesian cause if interested Asian Governments were to consider among themselves actively, and as soon as possible, what action they should take to help Security Council to deal effectively with Dutch persistence in defiance or evasion of proposals for a prompt and just settlement of Indonesian problem. Consultation among permanent delegates to United Nations of Asian countries will go some way towards concerted approach to problem. Policy, however, cannot be determined in New York by permanent delegates but only by responsible Ministers. It is, therefore, suggested that a conference at Ministerial level of representatives of Government of Egypt/Turkey/Iran/Afghanistan/China/Burma/Siam/Ceylon/Pakistan should meet at a convenient place in Asia as soon as possible to discuss ways and means of dealing with Indonesian issue. Government of India will be glad to act as host to proposed conference in New Delhi. In view of urgency of matter, they suggest that conference should meet on 10th or 16th January. They sin-

1. Cable to Indian Representatives in Cairo, Ankara, Teheran, Kabul, Nanjing, Rangoon, Bangkok, Colombo, Karachi and Canberra, New Delhi, 31 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. See previous item.



cerely hope that Government of Egypt/Turkey/Iran/Afghanistan/China/Burma/Siam/Ceylon/Pakistan will respond favourably to suggestion. They wish to reemphasise that conference is not designed to supersede in any way activities of Security Council but only to lend Council support on basis of united understanding among themselves.

Our Consul General in Batavia has suggested that Arab League should exercise pressure for sanctions against Dutch planes and ships through Suez Canal and Arab League countries. Hope that you will speak strongly in support of such action to Azzam Pasha.<sup>3</sup> Such action need not wait until conference; the sooner it is taken the more effective it will prove.<sup>4</sup>

3. Secretary General of the Arab League.

4. The last paragraph was communicated to the Indian Ambassador in Egypt only.

### 13. Resistance to Imperialism in Asia<sup>1</sup>

It has been decided to observe a ceasefire in Kashmir from last midnight. The Government of India sincerely hope that this decision, which is being implemented on the first day of the new year, will bring to the people of Jammu and Kashmir lasting peace and to the people of India and Pakistan a sense of closer friendship.

The United Nations Organisation is being tested and tried on the question of Indonesia. If it fails in this matter, it would be a sad day for the world. The recent happenings in Indonesia<sup>2</sup> are of the most vital importance not only for India but for the whole of Asia. It is a red-light signal to the present state of the world and an acid test for each country. By the attitude that each country and each Government adopts to these happenings in Indonesia they will be judged not only today but by history.

It is of vital importance that we should all confer together and that all freedom-loving countries should cooperate in protecting freedom from this onslaught. If this is not done now, the consequences are going to be disastrous for the world.

1. Speech in Hindi at a public meeting at Allahabad, 1 January 1949. From *National Herald*, 2 January and *The Hindustan Times*, 3 January 1949.
2. Dutch armed forces began full-fledged military operations on 19 December in Java and Sumatra and secured full control of all the key positions in the Republic including the capital city of Jogjakarta. President Soekarno, Dr. Hatta, Dr. Salim and other Republican leaders were either imprisoned or interned.



This cooperation should be within the framework of the United Nations. It is for this purpose that the United Nations was founded and if it fails at this crisis then it will become purposeless and ineffective.

We have seen the most naked and unabashed aggression and the use of armed might to suppress a people and a Government. We see attempts to revive a dying imperialism and colonialism. That this imperialism will die, I have no doubt but there is danger now that in the process of fading away it might bring catastrophe on a large scale.

The world is said to be divided more or less in rival power blocs. What do they stand for? What is their reaction to this attempt at destruction of the Indonesian Republic? We have to confess with sorrow that the attitude of some powers has been one of tacit approval or acceptance of this aggression. There is the Western Union of which Holland is a member. What does that Union stand for? Money has flowed from the United States of America in aid of the countries of the Western Union. Recently Marshall aid to the Netherlands Indies has been stopped, though such aid is still being given to Holland.

The Security Council passed a resolution which was very weak and inadequate. Even this has not been implemented. The Council then asked for the release of the Indonesian leaders within 24 hours. This also was flouted and the Security Council looked on and did nothing and some powers pleaded for the Dutch. Every effort was made to give the Dutch time to complete their work and then to present a *fait accompli*.

India, and I believe, the countries of Asia cannot possibly submit or agree to this aggression in Indonesia. Whatever the immediate future may hold, we shall not submit to it. This is not merely because of our love of national freedom and stout opposition to every kind of imperialism; it is essentially also a matter of self-interest for us. We cannot permit the continuance of imperialism in any form in Asia.

People talk of a Monroe Doctrine for Asia.<sup>3</sup> There is no such thing though there is something which is as good and that is the desire of Asian countries to protect their freedom and to cooperate together in this task. The Government of India have invited the other Governments of Asian countries to send representatives to a conference to be held in Delhi<sup>4</sup> in the near future to consider the Indonesian problem. We should like this conference to be on the ministerial level. Invitations have been issued to Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, the Hedjaz, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Ceylon, Siam, Burma and China. We hope that Australia and New Zealand will also be represented at this conference.

3. It was introduced by President Monroe of the United States in 1823 proposing a ban on European interference in any part of the American continent.

4. It was held in Delhi from 20 to 23 January 1949.

The Congress session at Jaipur had passed a resolution to this effect and we should adhere to it.<sup>5</sup> India stands for the elimination of imperialism from all Asia. In the immediate problem of Indonesia, we feel that the least that can be done is the withdrawal of all Dutch forces to the line which they occupied previous to this aggression; an inquiry into this aggression; the stoppage of all aid in any form to Holland; and the creation of conditions in which the Indonesian Republic can function.

I believe I am voicing the views of all the countries of Asia in this matter. We trust that the Security Council will yet take effective measures to this end. We want to cooperate with it in the fullest measure in this task and we expect the cooperation of all other countries whether in Europe or America or elsewhere.

On this new year day the people should resolve to follow the right path laid down by Mahatma Gandhi. I am convinced that if any person or nation adopts a wrong path to attain the objective, the downfall of such a person or nation is certain. I am not talking morals; this is a historical fact. It is, therefore, up to the people of India that if they want their country to attain a high position in the world, they should bid goodbye to narrow-mindedness and adopt a true and honest path as suggested by Mahatma Gandhi.

Recently the R.S.S. has launched a satyagraha movement. I have had considerable opportunity to study this organisation. I am convinced that the very principles of the organisation are wrong. It is an example of narrow-mindedness. I have no hesitation in saying that if India follows its principles she cannot remain independent for long.

Already one communal organisation, the Muslim League, has done considerable harm to the country. It does not behove anybody to set up an organisation now which creates dissensions in the country and makes her weak. The real strength of India lies in its unity in diversity. We can be a power in the world to be reckoned with only if we retain this characteristic.

I hope that the Government of India will be able to arrest the trend of rising prices of foodgrains and other necessities of life within two or three months and the prices of these essentials will gradually come down.

I know what difficulties the general public has to face because of these high prices of essential commodities and I seek the cooperation of each and every individual in the country to help the Government in arresting this trend.

The Government want to settle the proposed railwaymen's strike<sup>6</sup> and all problems by mutual discussion and understanding. To talk of strike at

5. The Congress at its session at Jaipur on 18 and 19 December 1948 assured full sympathy for the Indonesian cause.

6. See *ante*, p. 39.



this moment specially of essential services, is most irresponsible as it is bound to hit the economic position of the country.

We have to remember the tremendous responsibilities which have fallen on our shoulders after the country has attained independence. Now it is the duty of each and every individual in the country to realise these responsibilities and bear them in a manner fitting to the great nation to which we belong.

#### 14. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan<sup>1</sup>

Many thanks for your telegrams Nos. 6221 and 6226 received today.<sup>2</sup> As regards para 2 of latter, Belgian Ambassador sounded us also.<sup>3</sup> We told him that we could not agree to SABENA carrying mails to Indonesia but had no objection to it bringing passengers to India. There would hardly be any Dutch among them and as they would not be going on to Batavia anyhow, I doubt whether they could in any way help Dutch effort against Indonesia.

1. New Delhi, 1 January 1949. File No. 4-FEA/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. In the telegrams Liaquat Ali Khan had quoted a message he had sent to Attlee that in view of strong public feeling in Pakistan over Dutch action in Indonesia, the Pakistan Government could only extend facilities to the Dutch Prime Minister to visit Indonesia, provided the purpose of the visit was "to attempt a peaceful settlement by means of negotiations with Republican authorities."
3. Liaquat Ali Khan had mentioned the informal enquiries of the Belgian Charge d' Affaires as to "whether we would agree to SABENA taking mail to Batavia" and his offer "to bring passengers to Pakistan and India." Liaquat Ali Khan had rejected both suggestions.
4. The Belgian airline.



**15. Cable to C.R. Attlee<sup>1</sup>**

Many thanks for your message regarding Indonesia which your High Commissioner communicated to me yesterday. I had not suggested that in our view the U.K. had "passively supported the Dutch in Indonesia"; I was merely referring to the probability of such an impression being created in the minds of the uninformed, who are many. For my part, I am both aware and appreciative of your own and Mr. Bevin's personal effort to restrain the Dutch and sincerely hope that these efforts will be continued and will succeed.

1. New Delhi, 7 January 1949. File No. 136-FEA/48, Part IV, M.E.A. & C.R. N.A.I.

**16. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>**

Your telegram 3684 dated 8th January.<sup>2</sup> Our decision not to invite U.K. to send delegate or observer to Asian Conference on Indonesia was taken after most careful consideration. Had we invited U.K. as Asian power, how could we have left out U.S.S.R., or France or U.S.A. which, as principal occupying power in Japan, could argue that she has profound interest in future of Indonesia. Exclusion of U.S.S.R., U.S.A., and France would have brought protests from all three. Even though we might have ignored France, we could not have ignored U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. Inclusion of last two, along with U.K., would have introduced into conference all the distrusts, rivalries and rancours which have paralysed the Security Council. We have reason to believe that if major rival world powers viz., U.S.S.R., U.K. and U.S.A. had been invited, most of smaller countries of Middle

1. New Delhi, 9 January 1949, J.N. Collection.
2. Krishna Menon had reported that Ernest Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, had taken serious exception to not having been invited to the conference on Indonesia. "The impression was being left that we are setting up a bloc or doing something secret." Krishna Menon thought it an error not to ask the U.K. to send an observer, if not a representative.

East would have been afraid to speak their minds freely for fear of offending one or the other of the giants. Conference with membership now proposed might not have the military strength of one or more of the major powers, but it is not the purpose of conference to concert military action against Dutch. As has been explained in our telegram of invitation No. 1184 dated 31st December (e.g. Telegram No. 12 dated 1st January to you) while purpose of conference is to agree, if possible, on measures for solution of Indonesian problem which Security Council would be urged to take in order to bring Dutch to reason.

2. Had conference been designed to discuss or devise something hostile to U.K., we should not have invited Australia or New Zealand to it. U.K. nervousness seems to us to arise from misunderstanding of scope and purpose of conference and we shall be glad if you will make position clear to them. U.S.A. were at first similarly disposed but they approached us for elucidation both in Washington and New Delhi and are now quite reassured. Loy Henderson, who had long talk with me night before last, actually said :

- (i) that, in circumstances, it was inevitable that we should call conference
- (ii) that exclusion of U.K. and U.S.A. was wise, and
- (iii) that his Government might even express goodwill towards conference if we make public its scope and purpose. (This we intend doing within next few days in communique which will include list of countries that have accepted. According to our information, Siam and Turkey alone of those invited will not participate.)

3. For reasons set out above, it is not possible for us to invite U.K. We shall, however, be glad to keep their High Commissioner informed of proceedings of conference if he will keep in touch with us. You can convey this to Foreign Office when explaining reasons for our decision not to invite any of major powers. China scarcely falls in that category now. Moreover, it could not have been kept out of a conference of Asian nations as distinct from Asian powers.

## 17. Background of the Asian Conference<sup>1</sup>

I am very happy to meet you. My only regret is that my time is so short that our meeting will also be a limited affair. I have come back to Calcutta after a long time and I remember the last occasion when I came here.<sup>2</sup> I witnessed a very unique sight in the *Maidan*. It was an unforgettable sight for me—seeing the tremendous enthusiasm and the basic strength of the people here.

There are so many questions I should like to talk to you about. I would welcome an opportunity of your putting questions to me and my attempting to answer them. But as time is very limited I am afraid I cannot do that. I shall, however, refer to a few important matters. As you know the purpose of my visit is to welcome on behalf of the Government of India the sacred relics of Lord Buddha's principal disciples.<sup>3</sup>

First of all, may I express a word of regret to many people of Calcutta? I am told at the last moment the route from Dum Dum to this place was diverted to some extent and a very large number of people stood for hours together on that route. I am very sorry that my route was diverted and I wish to express my apology to them although I was not responsible for the diversion of the route.<sup>3</sup>

There are two matters about which I should like to speak to you. One is Indonesia and the Asian Conference that is going to meet in about a week's time in New Delhi. Then I shall speak briefly about Kashmir. I may also mention right at the beginning the refugee problem here. Naturally, we are all anxious to do what we can, to solve this problem both on behalf of the West Bengal Government and the Government of India. Fortunately, during the last month or two the situation has changed very greatly for the better. These problems depend on many factors, but probably the most important factor is the psychological one which one cannot easily grasp. There can be no doubt that, psychologically speaking, conditions are far better than they had been during the last one year and a half all over India. Whether in East Bengal or West Bengal, whether in Western Pakistan or India, I hope this improvement will continue.

1. Address to the Indian Journalists Association, Calcutta, 13 January 1949. From *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 14 January 1949.
2. Nehru had been in Calcutta on 15 December 1947. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 4, pp. 210-212.
3. See *ante*, p. 101.



You know that only recently, in fact today, an Inter-Dominion Conference<sup>4</sup> has been held in Karachi. I do not know the results or the conclusions of that conference. But I hope—and I think I have some reasons to hope—that its results will carry us one big step further in solving many of the problems that have come between India and Pakistan. So I hope that here, in regard to the relations between West and East Bengal, there will be great improvement—I feel there has been some improvement—and I hope many refugees who have come here from East Bengal for reasons beyond their control will go back to East Bengal—to their old homes and settle down there. As you know, we have got a Deputy High Commissioner, a noted citizen of Calcutta, of Bengal, in Dacca now.<sup>5</sup> And arrangements are also being made to give such help as we can. So, I hope that there will be a flow-back of the refugees because, while naturally we wanted to help them here, the problem has become so big that the help is very limited and the sufferings have become very great. The only real solution lies in their going back and settling, should I say, in their own homes.

Then a few words about Kashmir. The initiative for the ceasefire in Kashmir came from India and Pakistan agreed. The initiative was taken because India has accepted the new proposals which the United Nations Kashmir Commission has issued. Having agreed to these proposals it would be a pity to go on killing people. So we took the initiative. You will notice that these new proposals are a confirmation and repetition of the resolution which was passed on the 13th August last. It was accepted by us then and it was rejected by Pakistan later on. It is being confirmed now. That is the basic thing. And I should like to draw your attention to these proposals because that is the chief thing that has got to be taken into account before any other subject is considered. In that old resolution there were three parts—Parts I and II indicated what was to be done regarding such matters as the withdrawal of Pakistan armies and like forces. Part III of that resolution merely stated that after all this had been done, the Governments concerned and the Commission would sit down to evolve methods of ascertaining the will of the people of Kashmir. Now the new proposals<sup>6</sup> are really an elaboration for acceptance of Part I and II, detailed elaboration of certain general principles which should be acted upon in ascertaining the will of the people of the Kashmir State.

4. The second Inter-Dominion Conference was held in Karachi from 10 to 13 January 1949. The Conference dealt with the settlement of evacuee property in India and Pakistan under three heads, agricultural property, urban immovable property and movable property.

5. Santosh Kumar Basu, a well-known lawyer, had been appointed Deputy High Commissioner in Dhaka in December 1948.

6. See *post*, section 4, sub-section III, item 3, fn. 2.

As a matter of fact there are so many things yet to be discussed and many things are not clear at all. Some of the matters, however, were clarified in our discussions with the Commission. They are embodied in certain documents, which were presented to them in aides-memoire. These aides-memoire will help us to understand what is the position regarding the principles governing the ascertaining of the wishes of the people of Kashmir. Unfortunately these aides-memoire have not yet been given publicity. Therefore there is some lack of understanding as to what has been decided about some of these matters. But I expect that in course of a few days they will be given publicity and you will be in a better position to know what has happened. Probably the Commission will present its report to the Security Council and the aides-memoire and the report will be published then. So I would suggest to you to wait a few days more and see these aides-memoire, and then you will be able to judge better what exactly the picture is. These are general principles and other matters have to be discussed with the Commission; details have to be worked out also. The first two parts have to be implemented before the real question of the third part arises. Our acceptance was dependent on the full implementation of the first two parts. So much about Kashmir.

Now about Indonesia. The conference is going to meet on the 20th of this month in New Delhi. It will naturally be for the conference to decide what procedure it is to adopt, what other matters it might consider and what steps, it might possibly evolve. It will not be proper for me, or even for the Government of India, to lay down anything precise as to how the conference should function. It is a conference of distinguished representatives of a large number of nations and naturally it is for all of them together to decide how we should proceed in this matter. But I want to tell you why this conference has been convened.

The question of Indonesia has been an important question for us in Asia and in India for the last two years or more because we are intimately connected with the people of Indonesia, and even more because of the consequences of what would happen to India and in a wider context to Asia and the world. So we are taking a great deal of interest in it. I do not want to take you into past history very much. But I might tell you that during the last three months, more specially in fact when I was in London and Paris, many discussions took place about the situation in Indonesia, and the greatest emphasis was laid on behalf of India on the dangerous consequences of any possible aggression or military action in Indonesia. I mention this because it was not a sudden move that the Indian Government took, but it was a natural development and, if I may say so, an inevitable development of our policy, of what we have been saying and doing during the last two years and more specially during the last three months. In fact even in course of the address that I delivered at the United Nations General



Assembly I made particular reference to it and if you will permit me, I shall read out some passages from that address.<sup>7</sup>

Asia till recently was largely a prey to imperial domination and colonialism. A great part of it is free today but some parts are still under subjugation. And it is an astonishing thing that any country should still venture to hold to this doctrine of colonialism whether it is under direct rule or is indirectly maintained in some form or other. After all that has happened, there is going to be no mere objection to that but active opposition and active struggle against any and every form of colonialism in any part of the world. That is the first thing to remember. We in Asia have suffered ourselves all these evils of colonialism and have committed ourselves to the freedom of every other colonial country. There are neighbouring countries in Asia with whom we are intimately allied. We look to them with sympathy, we look at their struggle with sympathy. Any power great or small which in any way prevents the attainment of freedom of these people thus attempts to disturb world peace.

So during these past months we have taken a great deal of interest, and we have brought to the attention of various powers our own views about this dangerous situation that was developing in Indonesia. I must say that most of these powers have generally agreed with our analysis of the situation and have tried to prevent any such development. So when the military action took place in Indonesia, immediately the Prime Minister of Burma, Thakin Nu, suggested a conference of this type. We felt that as the matter was before the Security Council we should wait. The Security Council passed certain resolutions. These resolutions were not implemented. The Security Council is still considering the matter. Now because of these developments, after the Security Council's resolutions were not implemented, I felt that the situation was drifting in a dangerous direction. When even the Security Council's decisions and recommendations were being flouted, it would be desirable for us that those countries which are intimately connected by geography and otherwise should move together and take counsel not in any way intending to by-pass the Security Council but in order to strengthen it. So I ventured to issue invitations to a number of countries.

I am glad to say that my invitations to a conference of Asian Governments as well as the Governments of Australia and New Zealand have met with wide approval by these Governments as well as others. We have already received a large number of acceptances. Only one, or possibly two Governments, may find it difficult to be represented at this conference.

7. For full text of the speech, see *Selected Works* (Second Series) Vol. 8, pp. 290-295.



This conference is rather unique in history and for the first time representatives of Asian Governments are meeting together to consider a common danger. There is no precedent for it and it is not surprising that some misapprehensions should have arisen. I should like to clear up these misunderstandings. What the conference does will be decided by the conference itself and the Government of India cannot bind down the other Governments to any course of action either at the conference or later. But I want to make it perfectly clear that there is no idea behind this conference of forming an Asian bloc as against European countries or America. We have been opposed to joining any blocs for any hostile purpose. We can hardly, therefore, think of encouraging the formation of a new bloc of nations. This conference is not opposed to any country or people. It is not anti-European or anti-American or anti-Western. It is certainly opposed to the conception of imperialism and colonialism.

Secondly, the conference is not intended in any way to weaken the United Nations but rather to strengthen it. Even in the Charter of the United Nations regional arrangements are recognised and encouraged. We propose to function entirely in terms of that Charter and in order to help the United Nations to see that peace is established and justice is done.

Ours is therefore a regional conference to which non-Asian Governments like Australia and New Zealand have also been invited.

We have not invited the Great Powers or some other countries because that would have converted this conference into something entirely different from what it was intended to be. That again does not mean any hostility or opposition to any of the other powers.

I should like to quote from the invitation issued by me on the 31st December to a number of countries in Asia as well as to Australia and New Zealand, Egypt and Ethiopia. That invitation said: "It would greatly help the Indonesian cause if interested Asian Governments were to consider among themselves actively, and as soon as possible, what action they should take to help the Security Council to deal effectively with the Dutch persistence in defiance of evasion of proposals for a prompt and just settlement of the Indonesian problem." Further we said that the Government of India wish to reemphasise that the conference is not designed to supersede in any way the activities of the Security Council but only to lend support to the Council on the basis of a united understanding among ourselves.

Indonesia is a neighbour country which has had close contacts with India long before the age of European imperialism began. In recent years we have again developed these friendly contacts and watched with deep interest the struggle of the Indonesian people for freedom. In common with several other countries, we gave *de facto* recognition to the Indonesian Republic. It was inevitable that we should feel intensely interested

in any developments there which imperil the freedom of the people of Indonesia and threaten the very existence of that Republic.

But what has happened in Indonesia has an even larger significance for all of us in Asia and also, if I may say so, for the entire world. Vital questions have been raised on which may well depend the future peace of the world and the avoidance of terrible conflict. The freedom of any country is a precious thing. But today every action must be judged from an even wider standpoint, that of world peace, and any country that imperils that peace must be called to account, or else the contagion spreads and ends in wider catastrophe.

We meet at this forthcoming conference, I hope, to further the ends of peace and freedom and I am grateful that so many countries have accepted our invitation at short notice and are sending their representatives to New Delhi. That in itself is evidence not only of the deep feeling that recent events have aroused, but also of the far-reaching consequences of these events.

May I take you back a little to the history of not so many years ago. There was aggression on Manchuria and the League of Nations took some action but did not or could not follow it up.<sup>8</sup> It might be said that Manchurian aggression was the beginning of a series of events which led to the last Great War. We have that before us and it would be a folly indeed not to profit by the teachings of history, not of a distant history but something that happened before our very eyes. If aggression is allowed in any part of the world it will have very serious consequences of the type which in a sense would be very much worse than even what took place after Manchurian aggression about twenty years ago and during the years following the aggression. *Jai Hind*.

8. In 1931 the Japanese invasion of Manchuria led to a prolonged war between Japan and China. To settle the Sino-Japanese conflict, the League of Nations appointed a committee of 23 nations. In 1937, the committee strongly condemned the Japanese bombardment of the Chinese civil population and in 1939 it passed a resolution to prepare a report on it. The League of Nations also passed resolutions in the same year, to give all possible financial aid to China and to study the practical application of financial sanctions against Japan. But all these steps were too feeble to deter Japan.



## 18. Conference on Indonesia<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister informed the Cabinet of the progress made regarding arrangements for the conference of Asian countries on Indonesia, which was to open on the 20th January, 1949. He also informed the Cabinet that the main lines of Indian approach to the Indonesian problem at the conference would be :

- (1) That the conference should recommend to the Security Council the immediate steps which the Dutch should be called upon to take.
- (2) That the conference should also recommend to the Security Council such further action by way of sanctions or otherwise, which should be taken in case the Dutch do not comply with the directions of the Security Council.
- (3) That the conference should make proposals and should initiate action for the setting up of administrative machinery to ensure co-ordination of action by Asian countries for implementing the decisions of the conference.

It was intended to confine the conference to the Indonesian question alone, although there might be a desire among some of the countries represented at the conference to extend its scope to cover other matters of interest to Asian countries.

1. Minutes of a Cabinet Meeting held on 19 January 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

## 19. The Task of the Asian Conference<sup>1</sup>

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I bid you warm welcome on behalf of the Government of India and on my own behalf and I should like to express my deep gratitude to your Governments for having responded at short notice to the urgent invitation that we extended to them. Today's response itself is witness to the deep feelings

1. Inaugural speech at the Asian Conference of Nineteen Nations on Indonesia, New Delhi, 20 January 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. Nehru was elected Chairman of the Conference.



that have been aroused all over Asia and in other parts of the world at recent happenings in Indonesia. We meet today because the freedom of a sister country of ours has been imperilled and the dying colonialism of a past age has raised its head again and challenged all the forces that are struggling to build up a new structure of the world. That challenge has a deeper significance than might appear on the surface, for it is a challenge to a newly awakened Asia, which had so long suffered under various forms of colonialism. It is also a challenge to the spirit of man and to all the progressive forces of a divided and distracted world. The United Nations Organisation, symbol of the one world that has become the ideal of men of thought and goodwill, has been flouted and its expressed will set at naught. If this challenge is not met effectively, then indeed the consequences will affect not merely Indonesia, but Asia and the entire world. That would represent the triumph of the forces of destruction and disintegration and the certain sequel would be ceaseless conflict and world disaster. Although we meet to consider a vital problem of immediate importance, my mind is filled with the historic significance of this unique gathering. Here we are, representatives of the free nations of Asia and our friends of Australia and New Zealand as well as of Egypt and Ethiopia meeting together for the first time to consider a matter of common concern to us. We represent from Australia, New Zealand and the Philippines on the one side, to Egypt and Ethiopia on the other, a vast area embracing half of the circumference of the globe and further a greater part of its population. We represent the ancient civilizations of the East as well as the dynamic civilization of the West. Politically we symbolize, in particular, the spirit of freedom and democracy which is so significant a feature of the new Asia. This long sweep of history passes before my eyes with all its vicissitudes for the countries of Asia and, standing on the edge of the present, I look to the future that is gradually unfolding itself. We are the heirs of these long yesterdays of our history, but we are also the builders of the tomorrow that is shaping itself. The burden of that tomorrow has to be borne by us and we have to prove ourselves worthy of that great responsibility. If this gathering is significant today, it is still more significant in the perspective of tomorrow. Asia, too long submissive and dependent and a plaything of other countries, will no longer brook any interference with her freedom.

We meet in this Conference to consider the present situation in Indonesia and I would suggest to you that we should concentrate on that issue and not divert our attention to the many other issues which undoubtedly demand our attention. The story of Indonesia, during the last three years, has been a strange and revealing one. It should be remembered that Indonesia was reconquered from the Japanese by the Allied forces and

then handed over to the Dutch.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, special responsibility attached to the Allied nations. Many remarkable things have happened in Indonesia during these past three years and these are detailed in the papers supplied to the conference. It is a long story of broken pledges and continuous attempts to undermine and break the Republic of Indonesia. On the 18th December of last year the Dutch forces launched an offensive, practically without warning, against the Republic while negotiations for a peaceful settlement were still going on. Even the dull and jaded conscience of the world reacted to this with shock and amazement. The leaders of the Republic were imprisoned, separated from one another and treated with inhumanity. The Security Council of the United Nations passed a series of resolutions asking for the release of the Republican leaders and a cessation of hostilities as an essential preliminary to the resumption of negotiations for a peaceful and honourable settlement. The directions of the Security Council have not yet been carried out and the Dutch authorities seem to be concentrating all their efforts on the formation of a so-called interim government which, they hope, will be subservient to their will. Any person, who is acquainted with the spirit of the Indonesian people or of Asia today, knows that this attempt to suppress Indonesian nationalism and the deep urge for freedom of the Indonesian people must fail. But if open and unabashed aggression is not checked and is condoned by other powers, then hope will vanish, and people will resort to other ways and other means, even though these might involve the utmost catastrophe. One thing is certain, there can be and will be no surrender to aggression and no acceptance or reimposition of colonial control.

It was not without deep thought and earnest consideration that we decided to hold this Conference. Believing, as we do, that the United Nations must be strengthened as a symbol of the new order, we were reluctant to take any step which might appear to weaken its authority. But when the role of the Security Council was itself flouted, then it became clear to us that we must confer together to strengthen the United Nations and to prevent a further deterioration of a dangerous situation. We meet, therefore, within the framework of the United Nations and with the noble words of the Charter before us. That Charter itself recognizes regional arrangements as a means to further international peace and security. Ours is, therefore, a regional conference to which we have invited both

2. Japan occupied Indonesia in December 1941. By July 1944, the success of the Allied forces in South East Asia and the struggle of the Indonesians for freedom compelled Japan to take steps for Indonesia's freedom and Indonesia declared its independence on 7 August 1945. By September 1945, Allied forces entered Indonesia with the task of expelling the Japanese and restoring the Dutch.



Australia and New Zealand whose interest in the tranquillity and contentment of Indonesia is as great as that of any of us. Our primary purpose is to consider how best we can help the Security Council to bring about a rapid and peaceful solution of the Indonesian problem. We meet to supplement the efforts of the Security Council, not to supplant that body.

We meet in no spirit of hostility to any nation or group of nations, but in an endeavour to promote peace through the extension of freedom. It must be realised that both freedom and peace are indivisible. I should like to make it clear that we do not wish to consider this or any other problem in a spirit of racialism. Racialism has been and is even today the policy of some other countries. We in Asia, who have suffered so much from it, are not going to encourage it but will combat it, believing as we do, that not only is it a negation of democracy but is also the seed of conflict.

Our task will be three-fold: (1) To frame and submit to the Security Council proposals which would, if accepted by both the parties concerned, restore peace immediately to Indonesia and permit the early realization of freedom by the Indonesian people, (2) Also to suggest to the Security Council what action it should take if either party to the dispute fails to act according to its recommendation, (3) To devise machinery and procedures by which the Governments represented here today can keep in touch with one another for purposes of mutual consultation and concerted action for the achievement of the purpose for which this Conference has met. I do not think it would be proper for me to offer at this stage any detailed proposals. That will be for the Conference to consider. But it seems to me clear that our immediate objective should be to produce, as far as possible, conditions which existed before this recent Dutch aggression so that the Republic may be able to function freely and to negotiate as a free Government without military or economic pressure. The next step should be to aim at the elimination of colonialism. It must be remembered that so long as any form of colonialism exists in Asia or elsewhere, there will be conflict and threat to peace.

The situation in Indonesia is full of dangerous possibilities and requires urgent action. We have to aim, therefore, to complete our work as quickly as possible so that the Security Council, which is still considering this difficult problem, should be in possession of our views within the next few days. All of us who meet here have, I believe, this community of outlook and our deliberations should bear fruit soon. We are living in a revolutionary age of transition. On the one hand, we see a divided and disintegrated world, a multitude of conflicts, and an ever-present fear of world war. On the other hand, we see creative and cooperative impulses, seeking a new integration and a new unity. New problems arise from day to day which, in their implications, concern all of us or many



of us. The Americans have already recognized a certain community of interest and have created machinery for the protection and promotion of common interests. A similar movement is in progress in Europe. Is it not natural that the free countries of Asia should begin to think of some more prominent arrangement than this Conference for effective mutual consultation and concerted effort in the pursuit of common aims, not in a spirit of selfishness or hostility to any other nation or group of nations, but in order to strengthen and bring nearer fulfilment the aims and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations? In this world of hatred, conflict and violence let us endeavour to work jointly and in cooperation with all others and promote goodwill to further the cause of peace and tolerance and freedom. We shall not succeed in our mission if we follow the path of violence or seek to divide the world further. But we may well make a difference to the world if we fashion ourselves in accordance with the old spirit of Asia and hold up the torch of truth and peace to a war-distracted world.

May I, in all humility but also with pride, remind this Conference of the message of the Father of our Nation, who led us through the long night of our subjection to the dawn of freedom. "It was not through hatred or violence or intolerance to each other" he told us, "that nations grew in stature or attained their freedom." It was by following his lead in some measure that we attained our independence through peaceful methods. The world has got caught in a vicious circle of fear and hatred and violence. It will never get out of that vicious circle unless it seeks other ways and practices other means. Therefore let us adhere to the right means with the conviction that right means will inevitably lead to right ends. Thus we shall help in the process of integration and synthesis, which is so urgently needed in the world today.

## 20. An Era of Closer Asian Cooperation<sup>1</sup>

Three days ago we met here to confer together about the recent happenings in Indonesia. For these three days we have laboured and now we meet again in open session to conclude the work we had undertaken. It is perhaps not correct to say that this is a conclusion of that work. It would be

1. Concluding speech at the Asian Conference on Indonesia, New Delhi, 23 January 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.

more correct to say that this is the beginning. Yet we have completed one stage, and an important stage.

During our private sessions, after full consideration, we passed three resolutions<sup>2</sup> and I, as your Chairman, have already communicated the principal resolution to the President of the Security Council at Lake Success. The other two resolutions are for us to act upon and they indicate the beginnings of that close consultation and cooperation which, I hope, has come to stay among the nations represented at this conference. All these resolutions will be communicated to the participating Governments for their approval.

Our meeting at this Conference has been called a historic one and rightly so. May I, with all respect, congratulate all the delegates to this Conference on the success they have achieved and on the way they have risen to the height of this great occasion. It is not difficult for each one of us to express our feelings or our opinions forcibly on any issue. But when representatives of many Governments meet together, it is not easy for common agreements to be arrived at, for not only is there a variety of opinion but also each independent Government is reluctant to commit itself to any particular course of action in the future. That is why international conferences, more especially on political issues, prolong themselves indefinitely and seldom lead to satisfactory conclusions. Yet all of us have succeeded in a short space of time in coming to an agreement on a vital issue affecting not only Indonesia but the future of peace in Asia and the world. That is an achievement which we can justly praise. But the manner of our doing so seems to me even more important. Results and ends have importance and have to be achieved. But the means and manner we adopt are at least equally important. I think it may be said that the most significant feature of this Conference has been the friendly and cooperative approach of all those who attended it as delegates or as observers.

We worked together smoothly, efficiently and in a business-like manner. We wanted to achieve something and not merely to talk about it, and

2. The first resolution recommended to the Security Council immediate release of the Republican leaders and all political prisoners in Indonesia; facilities for free functioning of the Republican Government and restoration before 15 March 1949, of the areas held by the Republicans before 18 December; establishment of an Interim Government with full powers including control over armed forces and freedom in external affairs; and elections for a Constituent Assembly to be completed by October 1949 and transfer of power over the whole of Indonesia to be completed by 1 January 1950. The second resolution recommended to the participating governments to keep in touch with one another through normal diplomatic channels and to secure implementation of the main resolution. The third resolution proposed that the participating governments should consult among themselves in order to explore ways and means of establishing suitable machinery, having regard to the areas concerned, and of promoting consultation within the framework of the United Nations.



we have laid the foundation of that achievement because of this approach of ours. I think that this conference may well serve as a model to others.

This could only be so because of the community of interest and outlook that all of us have on this vital question, and also because, I think, there is a still wider community of thought and interest amongst us. I am deeply grateful to all the delegates and observers and to the Governments that sent them for their courtesy and cooperation.

There are a multitude of problems facing us and each one of us is interested more specially in some of them. The whole world is a question mark today. It was natural that, having met together, many of us should desire that we should discuss some other problems also. Yet it was a wise decision, I think, that in this Conference we should concentrate on the issue for which this Conference was summoned. That not only emphasizes the vital character of that issue but also demonstrates our businesslike approach to a particular problem. Success in cooperation in one matter leads inevitably to further cooperation in other fields.

We have passed our first resolution indicating what, in the opinion of this conference, should be done immediately and in the course of the next few weeks and months in Indonesia. This is a recommendation to the Security Council, and a recommendation coming from a large number of members of the United Nations must necessarily have great weight. This first resolution has been drafted by us with the greatest care and after full and prolonged deliberation.

We have taken especial care to say something which is definitely practicable and feasible. It was easy for us to say much more and we would have been justified, in the circumstances, to say more, because injustice has been done and it is our right and duty to remedy that injustice fully.

But we have considered this question in the larger context of the world and of the many forces that are in operation today and have recommended something which is eminently feasible. Anything less than we have said will fail to meet the requirements of the situation. I trust that the Security Council will appreciate our approach and realise the strength of feeling that lies behind it. Yet this is not a matter of emotion but of cold and calculated thought. For the issues before us are of the most far-reaching character and a failure at this moment will bring disastrous consequences.

Our second resolution reminds us that we have to remain vigilant and to take counsel together on this issue whenever need arises, so that we might take joint action to achieve the ends in view. We have not met in this conference just to pass a few resolutions but to follow them to the end.

Our third resolution indicated that wider sphere of cooperation which is becoming more and more necessary for us. We have to explore that and devise such methods for consultation and cooperation within the frame-



work of the United Nations as are to our common advantage and the advantage of the world.

I would repeat that we have not met here in hostility to any nation or group of nations, not even to the Netherlands, who have done injustice to Indonesia.

We believe that even from the point of view of the Netherlands, it is urgently necessary and desirable that this injustice be rectified, or else other evil consequences will follow. For evil breeds evil, and an evil action leads to evil consequences.

Europe and America have played a great part in world history and they will no doubt continue to play an important part. But it must be realised that Asia also wants to play her part and fully intends to do so. That part will be one of peace and cooperation. We have too much of division and conflict in this world already. Let none of us add to that division or that conflict.

I must thank you again and your Governments and express the hope that this historic Conference is a fore-runner of a period of close cooperation between our respective countries. To that cooperation India will gladly devote herself and may I say that all of you or other representatives of your countries will always be welcomed in India.

## **21. Cable to the President of the Security Council<sup>1</sup>**

Your Excellency,

As you are aware, a Conference of representatives of the Governments of Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq-Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen, met in New Delhi on the 20th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd January to discuss the present grave situation in Indonesia. The Governments of China, Nepal, New Zealand and Siam sent observers to the Conference. A set of the speeches delivered by the representatives of the participating Governments at the opening session of the Conference is enclosed. These pronouncements bear witness to the strength of feeling among the participating Governments about Dutch action in Indonesia and to their earnest and urgent

1. New Delhi, 23 January 1949. Published in General Assembly Official Record, Supplement no. 2, 4th Session, 1949.

desire that this dispute between the Netherlands Government and the Government of the Republic of Indonesia, which endangers the peace of South East Asia and of the world, should be rapidly settled in accordance with the principles of the Charter. Further evidence of the active sympathy of these nations with the Republic is furnished by the action already taken by the Governments of Burma, Ceylon, India, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia to deny to the Netherlands Government facilities of transit by land, sea and air.

2. Of the resolutions passed by the Conference, one contains recommendations to the Security Council. The text of this resolution has been telegraphed separately to Your Excellency. It will be observed that this resolution has been framed in full recognition of the authority of the Security Council and mainly with a desire to assist it in the solution of the Indonesian problem. The member States of the United Nations represented at the Conference recognised their obligation to give effect to any measures which the council take in order to bring about a solution of the Indonesian problem. But they wish to point out that the Council, which has been vested under the Charter with the primary responsibility to ensure prompt and effective action for the maintenance of international peace and security, acts not merely on behalf of the member States represented on the Council but on behalf of the nations as a whole. The member States represented at this Conference constitute a substantial proportion of the membership of the United Nations and I have been asked to request that the Council will, therefore, give due weight to the resolutions adopted by the Conference.

3. The Council has given proof of its awareness of the dangers of the Indonesian situation and of its desire to bring about a satisfactory solution. The Conference has asked me to point out, with respect, that effective action by the Council to bring this situation to an end is overdue. The Conference earnestly hopes that such action will not be further delayed and assures the Council of the full cooperation of the member States represented at this Conference in any measures that it may decide to take.

Jawaharlal Nehru  
Prime Minister of India.



## 22, On Asian Cooperation<sup>1</sup>

The Chairman informed the meeting that the text of the letter addressed to the President of the Security Council and of the first resolution adopted by the Conference on Indonesia had been telegraphed to Lake Success, and that he had addressed a telegram to the Foreign Ministers of the countries which participated in the Conference requesting the approval of their respective Governments.

The Chairman then explained that this informal meeting had been called with reference to Resolution III<sup>2</sup> adopted by the Conference and to the note<sup>3</sup> on Asian Cooperation which was circulated at the meeting. It was explained that this note was prepared in Paris where representatives of India had general discussions with those of other Asian countries. The matter had now to be considered in the context of Resolution III. Paragraph 3 of the note contained specific suggestions which could be discussed by the meeting informally. Thereafter, the views of the Governments concerned could be officially obtained and the matter further discussed at a subsequent meeting of the representatives in New Delhi of such of these Governments as have diplomatic missions here, and any special representatives of those governments not so represented may wish to send. These steps might lead to the establishment of a central organization with some form of simple affiliated machinery in each capital.

The Thai representative enquired about the scope and character of the proposed organisation. The representatives of Lebanon and Syria desired that geographical limits of the region should be considered by the organization.

The Chairman said that it might be decided, on the basis of the replies received from the various governments, whether one regional organization would suffice or whether, in view of the vast area covered by the countries represented at the recent Conference, it would be better to have two organizations, based on convenient centres, working in close cooperation together.

1. Minutes of an informal meeting held in the Ministry of External Affairs on 24 January 1949 with Nehru in the chair. File No. 9(55)-INO I/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I. The meeting was attended by the representatives of Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, China, Egypt, Iran, Ethiopia, Iraq, Lebanon, Nepal, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, Syria and Yemen.
2. It read: "The Conference expresses the opinion that participating Governments should consult among themselves... for promoting consultation and cooperation within the framework of the United Nations."
3. The note spoke of the Asian Relations Conference as the symbol of the growth of common consciousness and solidarity among Asians and of their bold determination to play a prominent role in world affairs.



### 23. A Resurgent New Asia<sup>1</sup>

The western world must stop treating Asia like a poor relation.

I believe, firstly, that the Asian nations should, if necessary, apply economic sanctions to force Dutch withdrawal from Indonesia if the Security Council fails to act. Secondly, in South-East Asia communism has lost ground during the last six months because of its headlong clash with the nationalist movements. Thirdly, the Communist victory in China<sup>2</sup> will become a very heavy factor in future Asian problems. And, fourthly, the Asian nations will be playing a far bigger and more important role in all international affairs henceforth.

A resurgent new Asia, as shown by the recent Conference here on Indonesia, should be a notice to the United Nations that the Far East no longer intends to be satisfied with a minor or secondary role in world affairs. I do not take into account the fears about communism in South-East Asia. The Communist movement generally has lost ground in South-East Asia because it is unable to exploit existing economic ills there.

The West never paid enough attention to Asia in the past, but it will pay more attention in future. The Conference here on Indonesia and the Conference's recommendations to the Security Council crystallised Asia's importance in the United Nations and the world. Communist domination of China will have a considerable psychological effect in South-East Asia, but it is too early to tell what other material effects it will have. It will have a profound effect on the minds of people generally, but beyond that it can not be determined now. Communism in South-East Asia has generally lost its ground during the past half year because it came into conflict with the nationalist movements. The Communist victory in China undoubtedly is a factor which must be weighed in the future evaluation of Asian problems.

1. Interview to the United Press of America, New Delhi, 24 January 1949. From *The Hindu* and *The Hindustan Times*, 26 January 1949.
2. The civil war in China took a dramatic turn in the last two months of 1948 and in January 1949, when the Communists advanced southwards from Suchow to Nanjing, and in the north occupied Beijing and Tientsin, the last strongholds of the Kuomintang. In the face of continuous Communist success Chiang Kai-shek resigned from the President's Office and sought peace negotiations with Mao Zedong. On 25 January the Communists agreed to meet the peace delegates of the Nationalist Government and suggested Beijing as the venue.

I had said to you last August that economic ills provided a most fertile field for communism in Asia.<sup>3</sup> But the Communists have been unable to exploit these conditions because they found themselves in conflict with the nationalist movements in the newly freed Asian nations as well as some not yet freed. I believe that the Asian nations may take their own economic measures to force Dutch withdrawal from Indonesia if the Security Council fails to act.

Asians desire to work within the United Nations. Nevertheless, there is always the possibility of further Asian action if the Council is unwilling to force a solution. There is no question as to what steps the United Nations, if it adopts the Asian recommendations and either party fails to comply, should take to enforce a solution. Economic and other measures which can be applied under the Charter will hit either party very hard.

This conference will powerfully affect world opinion. The role which Asia has been playing in recent years is neither proportionate to her size and population nor her real importance. The previous Western disdain for Asia followed from considering Asia as a kind of a fringe of Europe. Asian problems have been considered only as they related to Western problems. This is a hangover from the past. The United States also had been thinking mainly of Europe. However, the concerted action on Indonesia should notify Westerners that nations holding more than half the world's population are no longer willing to be treated as a secondary factor.

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 7, pp. 615-17.

## 24. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 24, 1949

My dear Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter of January 20th. The Indonesian Conference went off very well indeed. Almost everybody is satisfied with it. What struck outsiders most was the efficiency of the arrangements and the quick despatch of work. All this of course had very careful preparation behind it. The Australian representative<sup>2</sup> suggested, when he arrived here, that

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Dr. J.W. Burton, Secretary, Australian Department of External Affairs.



the business of international conferences was difficult and as an expert he might help. After a day or two he talked with great humility and expressed his surprise and appreciation at the way we did our work.

Zafrullah Khan had been asked to stay at Government House and all arrangements were made for him there. But for some odd reasons he preferred to stay at his Embassy. He said that he had special food, etc. He came to lunch at my house one day and seemed to eat everything. I think that he was pleased with his visit here and nothing happened that might annoy him.

Your suggestion about chauffeurs and others being given some tea, etc. during official functions seems to me a good one. I shall see what can be done about it.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

## 25. To Thakin Nu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 25, 1949

My dear Thakin Nu,

I write to thank you for the letter you were good enough to send me, through your Ambassador, on the occasion of the Conference on Indonesia. I had very much hoped that you might be able to attend this Conference as your presence would have been of great help and importance to us.<sup>2</sup> The idea of convening the Conference came from you and I merely acted up to your suggestion.<sup>3</sup> So, in a sense, you were the parent of this Conference and it was a pity for you to be absent, and yet I fully appreciate the reasons for your absence. I know what a heavy burden you carry and how bravely you are facing your problems.

The Conference on Indonesia was a great success. We did not indulge in heroics but we tackled the problem in a strictly businesslike way and I think we have created a great impression all over the world by our efficiency and unanimity. We have certainly helped Indonesia greatly and at

1. J.N. Collection.

2. U Win, Education Minister, had represented Burma as Thakin Nu was unable to leave the country.

3. Thakin Nu, on his way back from Britain in April 1948, had suggested to Nehru to call a conference in New Delhi to stop further aggression in Indonesia "which would result to the detriment of peace not only in Asia but in the whole world."



the same time made it clear to the world that Asia counts in all such matters.

You will notice that in the third resolution passed by the Conference we have suggested that the participating Governments should immediately explore ways and means for closer cooperation. Yesterday we met various representatives of Asian Governments and accepted a memorandum<sup>4</sup> on the subject. This is going to be circulated to you for your formal approval. I have no doubt that that approval will be coming as indeed you are eager to go much further. I feel that we have laid the foundation for the very thing that you suggest, that is some kind of closer union. But when we deal with a number of governments it is a little difficult to rush matters. It is safer to build a strong foundation first and then erect the building on it. I think we have laid that foundation and we should be able to build upon it fairly soon.

You are perfectly right in saying that the Western Powers still desire to maintain their footholds in the weaker countries of the East. Indeed some of these countries, whether in Western Asia or Eastern Asia, are rather afraid of offending these Western Powers. Hence we have to proceed with a little caution. This last Conference has given a good deal of confidence to Asian countries and prepared the ground for further advance. Conditions are so rapidly changing in China and elsewhere that it is a little difficult to prophesy what the map of Asia will be like by the end of this year.

We are all relatively weak as you say. That weakness is inherent in the circumstances at present and is in the final analysis an economic weakness. We do not get rid of that weakness by taking any step today which might bring us into somewhat greater conflict with the western countries. It is a safer course to avoid such conflict anyhow and to build up our strength and our cooperation with each other. You refer to the possibility of financial collapse. That is a greater danger than a military one. To meet that again we have to build up ourselves rather carefully because for the moment each one of our countries is financially weak and not in a position to help another.

Although on the question of Indonesia there was almost unanimous agreement at this Conference, as soon as any other question cropped up, there were differences of opinion and reluctance to commit governments. This difference showed that we have to proceed with circumspection. To talk of Asian blocs at this stage has no great meaning because we arouse antipathy all round before we really function together. From the larger world point of view also this business of creating blocs of nations as such is likely to lead to greater friction. Hence, I have rather discountenanced

4. It was decided that the countries represented would keep in close touch through diplomatic channels and through their representatives in the U.N., to ensure cooperation in the matters concerning Indonesia.

this idea which has in it the seeds of hostility to others. But I have stressed in every way the closest cooperation between Asian countries for their own betterment and protection. This approach is the sounder one and is likely to yield far great results.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 26. Cable to H.V. Evatt<sup>1</sup>

Many thanks for your message.<sup>2</sup> We should have been delighted to have you with us during the deliberations of the Indonesian Conference, but realise that this was not possible. Your delegation, however, made a constructive contribution to the work of the conference and I should like you to know that all of us greatly appreciated the ability and initiative of Dr. Burton.<sup>3</sup>

1. New Delhi, 27 January 1949. File No. 35-FEA/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.

2. In his message of 25 January, Evatt, the Australian Foreign Minister, had expressed pleasure at the "close cooperation of India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Australia and New Zealand" at the Indonesian Conference and stated that "the unfaltering support you have given to the United Nations principles and procedure is of outstanding significance."

3. J.W. Burton (b. 1915); Secretary, Department of External Affairs, Canberra, 1947-50; Australian representative to New Delhi Conference, 1949; after leaving the diplomatic service wrote several books on foreign policy.

## 27. Cable to Walter Nash<sup>1</sup>

Many thanks for your message<sup>2</sup> which arrived in time to be circulated to all representatives at closing plenary meeting of Conference on Indonesia. We deeply regretted that the observer from New Zealand was prevented from attending the meeting<sup>3</sup> but were gratified that Mr. Inglis<sup>4</sup> was able to be present. Resolutions adopted by the Conference have already been communicated by your Government. We look forward to continued cooperation with like-minded nations of the South Pacific on the Indonesian question as well as on other matters of common concern. Best wishes.

1. New Delhi, 27 January 1949. File No. 35-FEA/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I. Walter Nash (1882-1961); Secretary, New Zealand Labour Party, 1922-32; Minister of Marketing, 1936-41; Minister of New Zealand in U.S.A., 1942-44; Minister of Finance and Customs, 1935-49; Deputy Prime Minister, 1940-49.
2. Nash's message on 22 January expressed hope that the personal initiative and leadership of Nehru would bring a solution to the grave problem and "peace should be restored in Indonesia."
3. Peter Fraser was unable to reach New Delhi in time.
4. Lindsay Merritt Inglis (1894-1966); lawyer; served in the two World Wars; President of Court of Appeal, Control Commission, Supreme Court, Germany, 1947-50.

## 28. Cable to Mustapha el Nahas Pasha<sup>1</sup>

Both personally and on behalf of all who attended the Conference on Indonesia I send you warm thanks for your message.<sup>2</sup> The speed with which agreed conclusions were reached at this historic gathering leads me to hope that the peoples of the East will continue to work together for the common good in future. With greetings and an expression of my highest consideration.

1. New Delhi, 27 January 1949. File No. 35-FEA/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Nahas Pasha, President of the WAFD, Cairo, wrote that "all well-wishers and peace-loving people in every part of the world welcome the New Delhi Conference and entertain great hope in it, not only by denouncing Dutch imperialism and unveiling its evils but also by adopting practical measures to combat and overcome it."



## 29. Cable to Sjafrudin Prawiranegara<sup>1</sup>

On behalf of the delegates to the Conference on Indonesia I thank you for your message<sup>2</sup> delivered through Dr. Soedarsono.<sup>3</sup> We earnestly trust that the efforts now being made by all friendly nations in the East will bring to the people of Indonesia peace and the fulfilment of their political aspirations.

1. New Delhi, 28 January 1949. File No. 35-FEA/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. On 26 January 1949, Sjafrudin Prawiranegara, Head of the Indonesian Republican Emergency Government, said that although the resolution of the Asian Conference did not fully meet their expectations, the Indonesians were convinced that "Asian countries will fully aid in the creation of an independent and sovereign Indonesia at the latest on January 1st, 1950."
3. Dr. S. Soedarsono, Food Minister to Indonesian Government, 1947; Representative of the Republic of Indonesia to the Asian Conference, 1949; Ambassador to India, 1950.

## 30. To B. Shiva Rao<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 30, 1949

My dear Shiva Rao,  
Your letter of the 28th January.

I agree with much that you say. I think that any conference on the lines of the old Asian Relations Conference,<sup>2</sup> is likely to create great difficulties. In fact our talks in Paris led us away from the old conference into something that was purely official. Now another complication has been caused by the Conference on Indonesia and the possibility of some consultative grouping arising from that. We have to consider this matter, therefore, in this context.

The only possibility that I can see is to have a South-East Asia Regional Conference, possibly at Manila. But even that would be rather premature at present in view of developments in Indonesia. So, you see that I am in agreement with what you say in your letter. . .

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.
2. The first Asian Relations Conference, held in New Delhi from 23 March to 2 April 1947, was attended by representatives of twenty two Asian countries.

**31. Cable to Sultan Shahrir<sup>1</sup>**

As you know, we have been following events in Indonesia with the closest interest and not only with friendly sympathy for the Republic but also with the conviction that the freedom of Indonesia is a matter of vital importance to India and Asia. We shall continue this policy with vigour. During the next few weeks many developments are likely to take place. I am sure that you and your colleagues will face every developing situation with wisdom and courage remembering always that you have friends and comrades here and elsewhere. Please convey my greetings to President Soekarno, Hatta and other friends. We would always welcome a visit to India of yourself, Soekarno or Hatta for consultation. It is for you to decide for whom this will be convenient and feasible and we shall make necessary arrangements. I shall welcome any suggestions or advice from you, sent through our Consul General, about future developments. I have had long talks with Yunus who has posted me with full details of what has happened and of conditions in Indonesia. With all good wishes to you, Soekarno and Hatta.

1. New Delhi, 5 February 1949, J.N. Collection.

## INDIA AND THE COMMONWEALTH





**1. To Rob Lockhart<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
December 29, 1948

My dear General Lockhart,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 20th December.

I was happy to see you and your wife for a while. I wish I could have seen a little more of you, but as you know, I was terribly rushed in England...

I confess I do not myself know for certain what the future relationship of India will be with the Commonwealth. So far as we are concerned, we have expressed our willingness, but the lawyers and jurists at the other end cannot make up their minds.

With all good wishes for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. Rob Lockhart (1893-1981); commissioned in 1913; Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army (August-December) 1947.

**2. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
December 30, 1948

My dear Krishna,

Your letter of December 27th about our defence requirements.<sup>2</sup>

There is a very definite impression here that Pakistan is being favoured by H.M.G. To some extent your whole letter bears out the fact that the War Office in London are not friendly to us. I think it is something much more than mere indifferent handling, etc. We are entitled to know definitely where we stand and it is hardly good enough for the big bosses in London to excuse themselves and lay the blame on their subordinates. If we are not to get our requirements from the U.K., then we shall try elsewhere. After the promises made to us in London, we had hoped for better treatment. I think this might be put to the ministers or others concerned quite clearly.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Krishna Menon wrote that while the British Air Force and Navy had reported cordially, there was a "lack of willing cooperation" from the War Office.

### 3. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

We have received no further report from you about your talks regarding India and Commonwealth.<sup>2</sup> Position here has hardened because of recent developments in Indonesia and British attitude in regard to them.<sup>3</sup> Also because of U.K. attitude in regard to Kashmir and British officers serving in Pakistan.<sup>4</sup>

1. New Delhi, 30 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. In his reply on 31 December Krishna Menon wrote that Attlee was away for the weekend and he would personally call on Attlee after his return to pass on the message, if directed accordingly.
3. See section 2, item 1, fn. 3.
4. See *post*, section 4, item 11.

### 4. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
30 December 1948

My dear Krishna,

This morning I sent you three telegrams, one giving a message to Attlee about Indonesia,<sup>2</sup> another, a message to Attlee in regard to Kashmir and British officers,<sup>3</sup> and the third, a brief one, about my not having heard from you any further about India and the Commonwealth.<sup>4</sup> Soon after sending these telegrams, I received your three letters—one dated 26th December and two dated 27th December.<sup>5</sup>

2. About India and the Commonwealth, I must tell you that I am thoroughly dissatisfied at the way Attlee and company have dealt with this matter. No doubt my dissatisfaction is largely caused by the U.K. Government's or their representative's activities in regard to Kashmir and Indonesia. I do not think they have treated us fairly or squarely, and their gene-

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. See section 2, pp. 143-144.
3. See *post*, section 4, item 1.
4. See previous item.
5. See fn. 9.



ral foreign policy has been thoroughly exposed. So far as Kashmir is concerned, I have no doubt that, whatever the reason, there is an anti-India bias in their minds. Attlee's last message to me was, both in tone and content, objectionable.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps he did not mean it that way. But that does not make very much difference. I think he and his Government should realise that we have to be treated differently and that we do not like the way he has behaved to us in this Kashmir matter throughout and more specially during these last stages. My message to him, sent through you, has given some expression to our feelings on this subject. I do not propose to send any other messages regarding Kashmir or Pakistan to him, unless some very special occasion arises.

3. As a matter of fact since sending my message to you, another development has taken place, rather an important one. In view of the fact that both we and Pakistan have practically accepted the U.N. Commission's proposals for a ceasefire, we decided that we should put it to the Pakistan people that some kind of a ceasefire should begin immediately and there was no point in killing people during these few days that might elapse before a formal ceasefire is agreed to. So, at our instance, Commander-in-Chief Bucher has sent a message to Gracey, the Pakistan Commander-in-Chief, suggesting an immediate ceasefire with the armies remaining where they are, pending further developments. We shall await Pakistan's reply. If they agree, instructions will be issued to our Army and Air Force and Pakistan will issue similar instructions. Ordinarily I would have sent this message immediately to Attlee for his information. But in view of the attitude he has taken up, I have decided not to send it to him. He will of course get to know of it as soon as this proposal bears fruit.

4. About Indonesia, the British attitude is so completely wrong that I am just amazed at their effrontery. They put themselves wholly in the wrong certainly in Asia and possibly elsewhere, and it will take them a mighty long time to get over the discredit that now attaches to them. The abstention of their representative in the Security Council from voting even for the release of the Indonesian leaders was peculiarly significant.

5. We have addressed today a number of Asian Governments as well as Australia, suggesting that some kind of a joint memorandum be issued by all of us in regard to Indonesia; the main demands being the withdrawal of the Dutch forces to the position they occupied previous to this action, and an immediate enquiry into the responsibility for this action.<sup>7</sup>

6. I have been thinking that it is perhaps desirable to convene a small conference, at ministerial level, of representatives of these Asian Govern-

6. In his letter of 28 December, Attlee rejected all the complaints raised by Nehru about Britain's anti-Indian policy on the Kashmir issue.

7. See section 2, pp. 153-156.

ments, including Egypt and Australia to confer about Indonesia. We propose to send an invitation to this effect tomorrow, suggesting this conference within a fortnight or so at Delhi.<sup>8</sup>

7. India and the Commonwealth. You have put certain questions<sup>9</sup> to me which I cannot immediately answer. I shall have to consult my colleagues. I do not think there is any hurry for the answer to be given. I shall let you know in good time. Day after tomorrow morning I am going to Allahabad for a number of engagements, including Tara's marriage.

8. My visit to Hyderabad, Bangalore and Mysore resulted, as usual, in human upheavals. Vast numbers of human beings collected together wherever I went. The Hyderabad situation is quiet enough, but very ticklish. I am afraid that more damage was caused there to the Muslims by the Hindus, soon after our troops went in, than I had imagined. This was mostly in the rural areas where the administration had completely broken down after the surrender and the Hindus, who had suffered a lot under the Razakars, retaliated and killed and looted. Certain communal elements took the lead in it. It is difficult to say what the casualties were. The estimate of the Governor is that perhaps 2500 to 3000 persons were killed. There was large looting of property also.

9. The Military Governor, Major General Chaudhury, has done his job rather well and there is general appreciation of it, more specially among the Muslims. Our army has also generally behaved well under difficult circumstances, though there were lapses. From the law and order point of view, the situation is normal. But there is no doubt that there is not much normality in people's minds, as nobody quite knows what is going to happen and the Muslim element is rather afraid of the future. This fear chiefly concerns their dominant position in the services, etc. It is not our intention to make any radical changes. For the present there is no alternative to the Government that is there now. This Government has been wrongly called a military government. The only soldier in it is the Governor. For the rest the ordinary administration continues with a number of advisers in key posts. It is really in the nature of a care-taker Government. If we change this Government soon, the Hindu elements that would

8. The conference was held in New Delhi from 20 to 23 January 1949.

9. On 27 December, Krishna Menon wrote asking Nehru his opinion on certain issues regarding the Commonwealth: (1) the manner of revising the Nationality Law; (2) legislation by British Parliament on the King's title; (3) the issue of the Fountain of Honour; (4) the new proposal of immediate delegation of sovereignty to the Governor-General; and (5) how far did the prospect that "Pakistan may still stay in as a full member, even after we are out, weigh with you."



come to the forefront would quarrel among themselves and possibly Muslim interests might suffer.

All good wishes for the New Year.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

This morning's paper contained Sarat Bose's effusion about our embassies abroad, especially mentioning India House.<sup>10</sup> That was to be expected of him. He does not count for much here, but he has a capacity for mischief.

10. At a press conference in London on 28 December 1948, Sarat Chandra Bose criticized the functioning of Indian embassies in Europe in general, and India House in particular. He stated that Indian residents in London were dissatisfied with the India House and accused it of "snobbishness, favouritism and nepotism".

## 5. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
12 January 1949

My dear Krishna,

You wrote to me on 27 December about India and the Commonwealth. I sent you a brief reply<sup>2</sup> and promised to follow it up with a longer reply after consulting my colleagues. A little earlier I had written to Stafford Cripps on this subject.<sup>3</sup> I think I sent you a copy of that letter. Stafford replied briefly that he would have a talk with Attlee and then write to me. I have not heard from him again on this subject. I was waiting for his reply before writing to you more fully.

Some days ago I sent you a telegram<sup>4</sup> to indicate that opinion here was hardening on this issue because of the U.K.'s attitude in regard to Indonesia and also Attlee's replies to me regarding Kashmir. I do not think there is the least chance of our going further than what we said in London. To that we are prepared to stick still, in spite of some opposition in our country.

I wrote to Stafford because I wanted a clear answer. I do not understand this discussion of technical and legal issues in a matter which is essen-

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence* 1945-50, Vol. 8, pp. 1-2.

2. See previous item.

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 8, pp. 335-340.

4. See section 2, item 8.



tially political, as Stafford recognizes it to be. Take this business of a delegation to the Governor-General.<sup>5</sup> No type or form of delegation is going to be accepted here. Indeed, it would be against the part of the Constitution which we have already passed in the Constituent Assembly.<sup>6</sup>

When your letter came, I sent a copy of it to B.N. Rau. He has sent me a note on it.<sup>7</sup> That represents his view and not necessarily mine. I enclose a copy of this note for you.

Some references in the British press about India and the Commonwealth<sup>8</sup> seem to me to understand our position much better than the legal luminaries there. This question must be dealt with on this political basis of a new relationship between an independent Republic and the Commonwealth containing a King. I do not think there will be much difficulty about the nationality law as we have already stated.

I am writing to you briefly, and not dealing with all your questions. I am leaving tomorrow morning for Calcutta. But I do want to express to you my feeling that this question cannot be tackled in a legalistic way. The political issue must be cleared up first.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Some Dominions had suggested that the King should make a permanent delegation to the Governor General/President of India, of his prerogative to appoint Heads of Missions in foreign countries.
6. The Constituent Assembly vested all necessary executive authority of the Union in the President by passing a law and there could be no delegation from outside.
7. In the note Rau added that the Statute of Westminster's preamble of "common allegiance to the Crown by Commonwealth nations did not tally with the expanding conception of the Commonwealth." About Commonwealth citizenship, Rau suggested the recent Australian precedent. He was critical of Indian Government's request to the British Government for approval of some military decorations which amounted to accepting the King as the "fountain of honour".
8. For example, *The Times* on 6 October 1948 stated that "predominant political opinion in India" feels that India must "assert its newly found nationhood by repudiating allegiance to the British Crown and substituting for it some other legal link which would preserve existing close relations with the Commonwealth."

4

KASHMIR

I. Internal Affairs





## 1. Permits for Kashmir<sup>1</sup>

I have received complaints about the system of issuing permits to people going to Kashmir.<sup>2</sup> It is desirable of course to have permits for everyone who goes. At present permits are issued by some one in the Defence Ministry in Delhi. This means that people have necessarily to travel to Delhi for this purpose.

There is a fair amount of trade between Kashmir and Amritsar and it is an inconvenience for people to have to come to Delhi. Could not some arrangement be made so that permits might be issued to *bona fide* people on the recommendation of the Kashmir Trade Agents in Amritsar or Pathankot? Even in Delhi I understand that the Kashmir Trade Agent often gives certificates on the basis of which permits are issued by the military officer here.

I am told that some hundreds of Kashmiri refugees are lying in Pathankot, waiting for permission to enter Kashmir. They have to have permits in order to cross Madhavpur Bridge. These people have no proper shelter or accommodation and are suffering a good deal from cold and exposure. The sooner they are disposed of, the better. It would be too much to expect them to come to Delhi for the purpose of getting permits. A military officer, and they are many round about Pathankot, might, in consultation with the Kashmir Trade Agent there, deal with these people and issue permits or refuse to issue them after enquiry.

I think some such arrangements might be made to facilitate the entry of people in Kashmir after due checking. Long delays and waiting for permits is undesirable both from the trade and human points of view.

Another aspect of this matter is that sometimes permits are issued, more specially to foreigners and foreign press correspondents, without intimation being sent to the Kashmir Government. Recently, the *New York Times*' correspondents Trumbull<sup>3</sup> and Percy Wood<sup>4</sup> went to Kash-

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 20 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. A permit system had been in vogue since the 1920s for entry and settlement in Kashmir, as the law granted special status to State subjects in Kashmir. After partition in 1947 it was decided that those 'State subjects' who had migrated after 1st of March 1947, could return under a permit, for settlement or permanent return, to be issued by a competent authority under the act passed by the State.

3. Robert Trumbull, correspondent of *New York Times* in India, 1945-54; author of *India since Independence* (1954) and *As I see India* (1956).

4. Percy Wood, deputy of Trumbull.

mir without the Kashmir Government knowing anything about it. It would have been better if they had been informed. In such cases, and indeed in all cases where permits are issued, it would be desirable to send a list to the Kashmir Government, who should know about new entrants.

## 2. Cable to S.M. Abdullah<sup>1</sup>

Pakistan having fully accepted proposal for ceasefire it has been decided to have ceasefire as from midnight tonight. We propose to release statement to press at 1630 hours today. This statement being telegraphed to you separately.

May I congratulate you and your Government on the way they have been handling very difficult situation during past year and to assure you of our full cooperation and support in future which I have little doubt will justify the stand you have always taken?

All good wishes to you, your colleagues and people of Kashmir for the New Year.

1. New Delhi, 1 January 1949, J.N. Collection.

## 3. The Mullah of Shor Bazar<sup>1</sup>

With reference to the attached letter from our Ambassador at Kabul,<sup>2</sup> I hope that the Afghan Government's attention has been drawn to the more

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 5 January 1949. File No. 10(11)-IA/48, P. 36/notes. M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. The Indian Ambassador wrote on 18 December 1948 that the Afghan Foreign Minister had strongly condemned the Mullah's attacks on India and said that as the Mullah was only a religious head, the Government could not be held responsible for his utterances.

recent utterances<sup>3</sup> of the Mullah of Shor Bazar,<sup>4</sup> more specially of his repudiation of our statement concerning him. I think we should press this matter home with vigour and express our grave disapproval of his activities, specially when we were offering him every courtesy.

3. Addressing a meeting at Rawalpindi on 10 December 1948 the Mullah claimed that Kashmir rightfully belonged to Pakistan and India should abandon her present policy. The people of Afghanistan could not remain idle spectators of the massacre of Muslims in Kashmir and very soon they would drive out Hindus and Sikhs from Kashmir.
4. Nurul Mashaikh-i-Fazal-i-Umar, a religious leader of Afghanistan, dedicated to the shrine in Sirhind in East Punjab; assumed the religious title of Hazrat Sahib of Shore Bazar in 1925; appointed first Minister of Justice in 1929 by King Nadir Shah.

#### 4. To S.M. Abdullah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
11 January 1949

My dear Sheikh Saheb,

Some newspapermen, whom you addressed this morning, came to us in a somewhat agitated condition. They did not quite know what attitude to adopt.

I do not know exactly what you said to them,<sup>2</sup> but I am myself troubled about one matter. It is clear that any attitude that should be taken up by us, that is, the Government of India and the Kashmir Government, should be more or less identical. Otherwise there will not only be confusion in people's minds but also harm might result to our cause.

I am not sure that in regard to some matters, which you apparently mentioned to the pressmen, there is this similarity of approach. You have been rightly laying stress on the political aspect of the problem. That has always been important and it is now still more important. The question really is, as to how we should tackle that political aspect to the best advantage. In that I find a somewhat different approach between you and me. I have naturally given much thought to this matter and we have discussed it on many occasions. I feel that both tactics and practical considerations of a political kind necessitate a particular approach, which

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Sheikh Abdullah is reported to have said to pressmen on 11 January that the events and conditions in Kashmir were fast taking a critical turn and Kashmir had to face issues, like a plebiscite, squarely all alone and turn the tide in her favour.



I have mentioned to you. I am not quite sure whether you agree with me or not or whether I could convince you. In order to avoid saying anything which might not be in harmony with what you say, I would prefer not to say anything about Kashmir myself for some time.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To S.M. Abdullah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
12 January 1949

My dear Sheikh Saheb,

Zutshi gave me your letter of January 11th this evening.<sup>2</sup> I am leaving tomorrow morning for Calcutta. I am therefore writing in some haste in reply to your letter. It is a little difficult to deal with all your points briefly. In regard to some of them I gave, I hope, a clear indication of my mind to you when you were here and you had a long talk with Gopalaswami. Since then I wrote to you a brief letter also which stresses this matter.

First, to deal with Bakshi's letter regarding the ceasefire proposals.<sup>3</sup> Both you and Bakshi have seen the two aides memoire that we gave to Lozano and which, as Bakshi rightly says, were accepted by Lozano and Colban. These aides memoire were referred to in our reply to the Commission. Copies of them were sent to Pakistan a little later by Lozano. Thus these aides memoire are essential parts of our agreement, accepted by the Commission as such. We have made it perfectly clear that it is on that understanding alone that we have agreed to the proposals. There need be no doubt about that.

We did not expect the aides memoire to be incorporated as a part of the resolution of the Commission. They are to be attached to the resolution in explanation of the proposals. The Commission have published their

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Emphasizing that he and his colleagues were 'adamant' to clear certain essential matters in view of Patel's statement that "the situation in Kashmir today is bound to exist in near future under the stress of proposed plebiscite", Sheikh Abdullah requested Nehru to help "us to surmount the last ditch that is facing us by both recognizing the logic of and accepting the demands we have put before you."

3. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad asked on 8 January "why the variations and amendments suggested by us have been altogether left out of the final draft?"

resolution only at this stage. I understand that the aides memoire will be published together with their report to the Security Council soon.

In any event it must be clearly understood that we stand by everything that we have said in those memoire and we are not going to accept anything contrary to them. Presumably you have copies of the memoire. I am asking Kachru to take additional copies with him.

The major points in these aides memoire are that the 'Azad Kashmir' forces will be disbanded and disarmed, and that no appeal to religious fanaticism will be allowed and this will not be considered as legitimate political activity. I have noticed that in regard to both these points, the Pakistan Government and the 'Azad Kashmir' people are saying something entirely different. I do not particularly mind this because within a few days the real facts will be published and it will be for Pakistan to accept them or to reject the whole scheme of the proposals. There is no particular reason why we should worry, though of course we must remain wide awake. You should explain to your co-workers the terms of our agreement to which we shall adhere, whatever happens.

As regards the other points about which you wrote to Sardar Patel<sup>4</sup> before your visit to Delhi, I expressed to you my views when you were here. There is not much argument about the merits of your proposals. The whole question is how and when any such line should be taken up. I have given the most earnest thought to this matter and I am convinced that this is not the right time to raise these questions. There is a delicate balance at present in people's minds and in the actual situation itself. The U.N. Commission's proposals have come out, more will follow soon. We shall be discussing truce conditions. Anything of the kind you have suggested being done now would seem to flow from the Commission's proposals, or to be intimately connected with them. It might even be thought that this was due to some kind of secret understanding between the Commission and Pakistan. It would thus appear as a victory for Pakistan and defeat for Kashmir. Pakistan would derive a great deal of advantage in their propaganda and otherwise. On our side there will be a feeling of cracking up before the onslaught of Pakistan.

You know best what the reactions in Kashmir will be. Undoubtedly a very large number of Kashmiris would welcome it from the point of view

4. On 3 January Sheikh Abdullah proposed that the Maharaja should be asked to abdicate and live outside the State along with his family and entourage; that the future of the dynasty should be decided by the Constituent Assembly of the State; that the Central and the State Army should be transferred to the Ministry; that all the citizens of the Union should have equal opportunities of service in the Indian Army; that accession should be limited to the three central subjects of foreign affairs, defence and communications; that the Constituent Assembly of the State should be free to frame a constitution in accordance with the wishes of the people.



you mention. But even today, many of them, will be unable to escape the feeling of surrender on pressure from Pakistan. Some others would definitely get very frightened at the turn of events that were taking place and will be frightened of the future. There will thus be a complete upset in people's minds.

So far as India as a whole is concerned, I have no doubt at all that this will be looked upon as the first major victory of Pakistan. Our army will be powerfully affected. This has nothing to do with the merits of the question, but rather with the intricate consequences of certain action in a certain set of circumstances. It is always a little dangerous to upset a delicate balance. The consequences are unpredictable. Any action taken must be after the fullest consideration of all parties concerned and in a manner so as to lead to the best results. Nothing is more dangerous in such circumstances than unilateral action or a confusion of issues caused by different approaches to a certain problem. It is essential, as I pointed out in my brief letter sent two days ago, that the Kashmir Government and the Government of India should cooperate fully and should speak with the same voice. If this is not possible or is not done, then our voices and our actions neutralise one another and grave injury results.

Therefore I pointed out to you in my last letter I was feeling considerably embarrassed at your statement to the press here because I could not take up that line in existing circumstances. I had to decide to remain quiet on the subject. That was of course a very unsatisfactory position for all of us. But I just do not know what else to do.

I am afraid your colleagues are precipitating matters and not applying a broad vision to the various contingencies and are creating a condition which may make full cooperation a little difficult. That by itself is a most unhappy turn being given to events.

As I have said above, the merits of the question are not at present in dispute and your difficulties are perfectly recognised. I can understand your desire to do something spectacular which will influence large numbers of people, but the advantage may well be counterbalanced by grave disadvantages.

You know well that this business of plebiscite is still far away and there is a possibility of the plebiscite not taking place at all. (I would suggest however that this should not be said in public, as our *bona fides* will then be challenged). It is not a question of hiding anything from the public, but of appreciating the difficulties of the situation. These difficulties are recognised by the Commission and it is possible that a further consideration and a closer examination of these difficulties might lead to new arrangements. It is quite possible also that even at this early stage there might be a complete lack of agreement between Pakistan and us on several issues,



such as those mentioned in our aides memoire, so that a great deal will happen in the course of the next month or two. If we do anything spectacular now, it will rather overshadow the other major differences between us and Pakistan and divert the Commission's mind too.

My own suggestion to you and to your co-workers is that at present no such proposals should be put forward. Even privately discussing them would give a fillip to Pakistan. But, having got over some of the preliminary hurdles, let us think of the future calmly and in a leisurely manner and find out the best approach to the problems. You know that we are at least as intensely interested in the future of Kashmir as you are. It is our earnest desire to help you in every way, but perhaps we can view these matters from a broader perspective and thus our manner of approach may be different.

I would therefore beg of you not to take any step, even as regards informal talk, which might prejudice us in many ways and embarrass you also. Let us concentrate on other matters at present meanwhile discussing further steps, how and when they should be taken.

Kachru is going to Srinagar and possibly to Jammu also. He knows the position fairly well and can have a talk with your workers and explain it to them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. To S.M. Abdullah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 10, 1949

My dear Sheikh Sahib,

I have your letter of February 5. I entirely agree with you that we should take every care about the return of refugees and the disposition of troops should be properly arranged for this purpose.

Also about your second point regarding the Jammu-Srinagar road, I am forwarding your letter to the States Ministry and the Defence Ministry.

The U.N. Commission is due here soon and, as you know, before any other step can be taken, several important matters have to be cleared up, notably the Pakistan interpretation of the ceasefire arrangement. Our position is exactly what has been stated in the Resolution of the Commi-

1. J.N. Collection.

ssion and our letters and aides memoire to them. If Pakistan does not accept this, then there is a lack of agreement at the very beginning.

For this and other matters I think it is essential that full and frank talk should take place between you and Bakshi on the one hand and us on the other. I do hope both of you will be able to come here fairly soon. I am going to Ahmedabad for two days, Saturday and Sunday next, returning on Monday afternoon.

Lady Mountbatten is due to arrive here on the 15th February, Tuesday, and will stay on for some time. I am sure she will be happy to meet you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

KASHMIR

II. Military Situation





## 1. Message to C.R. Attlee<sup>1</sup>

In our desire to achieve a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir problem we have during the last six months deliberately refrained from major offensive operations although Pakistan Army has occupied parts of Jammu and Kashmir State territory in force and have thus openly committed a hostile act against India. Recently, we cleared the routes to Leh and Poonch in order to send supplies. Even then we avoided further advance by our troops which was easy for us.

2. We have been drawing attention frequently to the progressive build-up of Pakistan Army in various parts of State territory more especially in the Jammu area. In order to cloak their own build-up and intended offensive operations Pakistan complained to Security Council against us for starting a major offensive which we never did.

3. On 14th of December Pakistan Armies started a heavy bombardment from Sadabad to Kabutargala in the Jammu area. This continued for four days and approximately five thousand 25 pounder shells as well as heavy anti-aircraft artillery were fired. Sherman tanks<sup>2</sup> were also used. The important Beri-Pattan Bridge which was our main supply line was destroyed.<sup>3</sup>

4. This build-up of Pakistan Army which rendered these operations possible could not have been undertaken without careful and deliberate planning at G.H.Q. of Pakistan for at least three months prior to date of offensive. This means that the British Commander-in-Chief and other British officers have been engaged in planning and carrying out this offensive against India. We take the strongest exception to this carefully planned operation of Pakistan and more especially to the part that British officers have taken in it. We cannot believe that the United Kingdom Government desires to adopt a hostile attitude to the Indian Union and to support military action taken by Pakistan in our territory and against our people.

1. New Delhi, 20 December 1948, File No. 14/47, M.H.A.

2. The M-4 medium tank with added armour and the 75 mm gun became the most widely used Allied tank in the world war from 1942.

3. The bridge collapsed due to incessant bombardment by the Pakistani Army from 14 to 18 December 1948.

Yet it is difficult to explain why high-ranking British officers should be allowed to take full part in these operations.<sup>4</sup>

5. In view of Pakistan Army's offensive against our Army in Indian Union territory we consider ourselves free to take any appropriate action to check this wherever necessary.

6. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will no doubt appreciate the seriousness of the situation which has progressively deteriorated because of the encouragement given to Pakistan in its aggression on Jammu and Kashmir State and the active help provided by British officers. The Government of India view this development with grave concern and they must ask His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom to withdraw such British officers. It is the Government of India's belief that the Kashmir problem would have been much nearer solution but for this encouragement given to Pakistan by British officer personnel. The Government of India, as is well known, desire to maintain close and friendly relations with the United Kingdom. It is not in keeping with such relations that British officers should be actively engaged in hostilities against the Indian Union.

4. During the tribal invasion in Kashmir, the Pakistan Army was guided by high ranking British officers, such as, General Gracey, the Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army and Lieut. General R.C. McCay, the Chief of Staff. Senior British officials such as Sir George Cunningham and Sir Francis Mudie were reported to have been actively involved, while Col. Ingall (Commandant, Pakistan Military Academy) and Major W.A. Brown (Commandant, Gilgit Scouts) were directing the operations.

## 2. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

We have received no answer from U.K. Government to our message sent through you in Primin 1843 dated 20th December.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile military situation continues to be serious in Kashmir State. In the north near Tithwal<sup>3</sup> enemy movements indicate offensive. In

1. New Delhi, 23 December 1948. File No. 8-K(5)/48, Vol. II, Ministry of States, M.H.A.

2. See previous item.

3. Tithwal town is situated in North East Muzaffarabad near the Krishnaganga river. Tracks branch off from here to almost the whole of North Kashmir.



Jammu area shelling began again from between Sadabad and Manawar Tawi area. Road in this area being rapidly built further east by enemy. This is totally unnecessary from any defensive point of view and can only be meant for transport of heavy guns and further attack more specially on Akhnor Bridge which is vitally important both for supplies and as canal head. Electricity and water supply for Jammu controlled from this canal head.

Our Army is considerably hampered by our directions not to undertake offensive. Enemy taking advantage of this by creeping ahead with heavy guns and organising troop movements.

Our information is that three divisions of Pakistan Army are in Jammu and Kashmir State or right across border. Another division near 'Azad Kashmir' border at Kahota. This does not include so-called 'Azad Kashmir' forces and tribal levies. This major strength of Pakistan Army is already in Kashmir State or on border.

We understand that from 1st January all 'Azad Kashmir' troops will be incorporated in Pakistan Army. It is stated also that Pak Army intends starting bombing in Kashmir in January.

Information has reached us that large number of Polish aviators about 400 who have specialised in bombing have been engaged by Pakistan in England. You might inquire into this. Of these, thirty have already arrived in Karachi.

All this indicates that Pakistanis straining every nerve to build up Army and Air Force and carry out major offensive operations in Kashmir in near future. Any such operation will necessarily lead to grave developments including war between India and Pakistan. I would repeat that this cannot be done without the full cooperation and control of Pakistan GHQ which are controlled by high-ranking British officers.

All this is being done while the representatives of United Nations Kashmir Commission are here and there is talk of ceasefire and truce. We should like you again to draw the urgent attention of U.K. Prime Minister to these dangerous developments and to continuous aggression by Pakistan on India while we are straining every nerve to settle problem peacefully. Presence of British officers in this connection appears to us to be particularly objectionable.

For your information we might inform you that we have generally agreed to Kashmir Commission proposals after elucidation and mutual understandings. Full papers are being sent to you.

3. To F.R.R. Bucher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 23, 1948

My dear Roy,

As I am going away to Hyderabad and Mysore early tomorrow morning and shall be away for five days, I sent for General Shrinagesh<sup>2</sup> and enquired from him about the position in Kashmir. One reason for my sending for him was because Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Deputy Prime Minister of Kashmir State, had given some information about Pakistan operations in the Sadabad area as well as in the direction of Akhnoor, which was disturbing.

Shrinagesh confirmed this information and informed me that since last night 2200 hours there had been shelling from the enemy from the Sadabad area. Further that a road was being rapidly built by the enemy in the direction of Akhnoor. This could not possibly be for any kind of defensive purpose and could only be meant for the transport of heavy guns. If this road was built further much and guns were brought along it, Akhnoor bridge would be threatened. This bridge is vital, not only from the purely military point of view and that of supplies, but because the canal head is there and the supply of electricity and water to Jammu is controlled from it. This bridge, therefore, has to be defended and protected at all costs.

This means that this road building operation of the Pakistan Armies must not be allowed to continue. Also that every precaution must be taken to prevent any further untoward development which may occur if Pakistan goes on shelling in a big way thus affecting our supply line and weakening our positions generally.

Shrinagesh also told me about certain enemy movements north and north-east of Tithwal which may indicate an attempt to encircle some of our troops in that area. These troops are for the present cut off because of winter conditions.

It is clear to me that we cannot rely on Pakistan remaining on the defensive, nor can we accept any of their assurances that have been given to us in regard to this. We must not be caught unawares and we should take every possible precaution to prevent an untoward development. In the event of Pakistan continuing their persistent shelling and offensive operation and ours not being able to check this there, there is every likeli-

1. File No. 8-K(S)/48 Vol. II, Ministry of States, M.H.A.
2. General Satyanant Mallannah Shrinagesh (1903-1977); Chief of Staff, Indian Army 1955-57; Principal, Administrative Staff College, Hyderabad, 1957-59; Governor of Assam, 1959-62; Governor of Andhra Pradesh, 1962-64, and of Mysore, 1964-65.



hood of war taking place with Pakistan. We cannot possibly permit them a clear field for an advance to Jammu or to cut off our lines of communication and our troops. In order to avoid this contingency from arising we must be strong enough to stop any kind of advance or any possibility of further danger to our lines of communication and more specially to Akhnoor bridge.

Reports both from London and Karachi indicate that a large number, said to be about 400, of Polish aviators, who have specialised in bombing, have been engaged in England by Pakistan. 30 of these are said to have arrived in Karachi. Other reports state that the Pakistan Army intends starting bombing from January. It is also stated that all 'Azad Kashmir' troops will be formally incorporated in the Pakistan Army from the 1st January.

It is clear that we must prepare ourselves for all contingencies. Any weakening of the Jammu front would be an invitation to Pakistan for major operations against us. We must therefore be sufficiently strong there to prevent any danger to Akhnoor bridge or to our other lines of communication. How this is to be done it is for your G.H.Q. to determine. If additional forces are necessary they should be sent.

We have stated that no major or general offensive operations should be indulged in by our Army or Air Force. But this does not mean that we should allow the enemy to creep up, build roads in order to bring their guns to shell our positions. It also does not mean that in an effort to consolidate our defensive position, we should not advance a little to any strategic points that may be necessary. This has to be judged from the point of view of stopping enemy advance and consolidating our defence.

Kalwant Singh told me when he came to Jaipur that it was intended to send some troops and armour from Ferozepore and Meerut. This was subsequently not sent although it is kept in readiness. It is for you to judge whether it should be sent now or not. It is better not to take any risk, more specially at this particular moment when the enemy appears to be in an offensive mood and has made large-scale preparations apparently for attack.

I suppose Shrinagesh has already placed all the information he has at your disposal. In view of the talk I have had with him today, I suggest that you might send for him and give such directions as are necessary for adequate precaution and support to be given to our Army in Kashmir State, and more specially in the Jammu Area. The destruction of Beri-Pattan bridge was rather upsetting. A repetition of any such incident would be most unfortunate and has to be avoided.

Political developments in regard to Kashmir and the United Nations may take place in the course of the next three or four weeks. What they



are going to be I cannot say. But we have to guard our position as fully as we can meanwhile.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. Cable to G.S. Bajpai<sup>1</sup>

Kashmir situation. Would like you keep Krishna Menon informed of continued enemy shelling and preparations for aggressive action. We must make clear to Attlee dangerous and far-reaching consequences of enemy action in Kashmir. This will upset all efforts at peace of U.N. Kashmir Commission which we are supporting. We are convinced that British officers in Pakistan largely responsible. Their continued presence there serious danger to peace.

Indonesia. Hope instructions issued for Dutch shipping not to be given any facilities in Indian harbours.

U.N. Security Council resolution on Indonesia unsatisfactory. Australian and U.S.A. proposals were much better.<sup>2</sup> We must point out to countries concerned that it is essential for Dutch troops to retire to previous position. Otherwise they profit by their aggression. Good Offices Committee should also report on responsibility for recent happenings. Pakistan and other countries might be asked to support us in these demands.

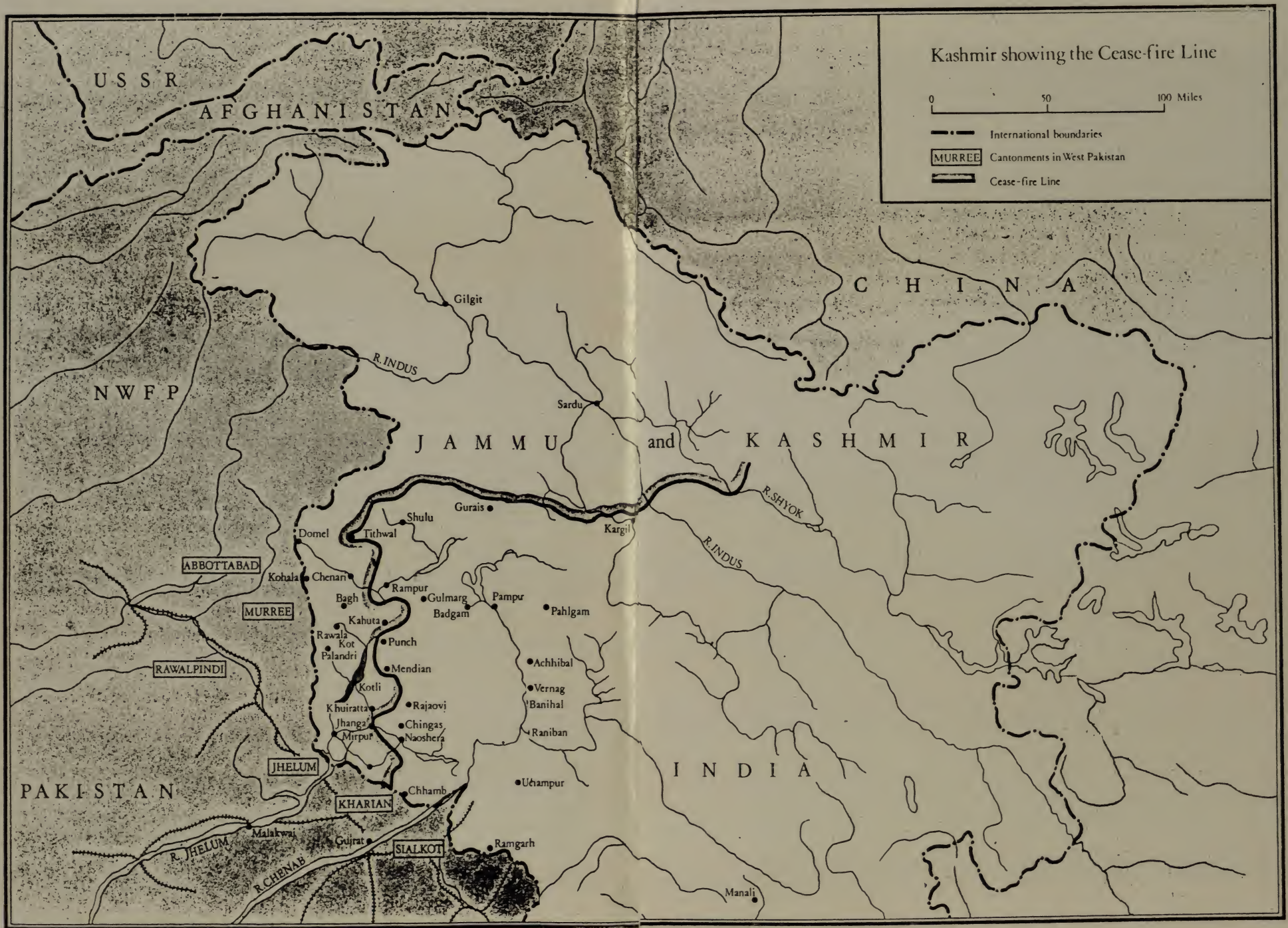
1. New Delhi, 25 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 149.



IN KASHMIR, DECEMBER 1948









ON THE FLIGHT TO DELHI FROM AHMEDABAD, 14 FEBRUARY 1949

5. To F.R.R. Bucher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 29, 1948

My dear Roy ,

Thank you for your letter of the 28th December which I received on my return to Delhi today.

It is for you and the Army Headquarters to decide what steps should be taken to prepare for possible contingencies. Perhaps it is not possible for every single contingency. But it is better to be well prepared, even if the necessity is not obvious, than to be taken by surprise.

At no time have we accepted the position, either before the U.N. Kashmir Commission or elsewhere, that we are to remain static while Pakistan Armies remain in Kashmir State territory. Sometimes for entirely practical reasons, we have decided not to take any offensive action. That of course does not mean that we should not consolidate our positions and even take minor action which is necessary for such consolidation. Every such action has to be judged on the merits, including the possibility of retaliatory action. The fact that Pakistan Armies are functioning in Kashmir State territory is a continuous aggression and irritant to us, from the political as well as the military point of view, and till they withdraw, it will always be open to us to attack them, should we be in a position to do so. At the present moment it is, for a variety of reasons, undesirable for us to indulge in any offensive action. But that is entirely because we think so and not because we owe it to Pakistan to refrain from any such action. I am not prepared to admit that Pakistan is entitled to attack us or to shell us, simply because our Army has taken some minor action somewhere.<sup>2</sup>

The excuse they put forward for the destruction of Beri-Pattan Bridge is, I think, completely without justification and is in effect a mere excuse for something for which they had prepared for long. It is not clear to me at all why they should have built up their position there in such strength and why they should continue shelling our positions at the present moment unless they have some other operation in view for which they are preparing.

I do not know what political approach is possible in regard to their road building operations in Kashmir State. There is no political approach possible, which does not involve our accepting to some extent the presence of their armies in Kashmir State. The only two alternatives are: a cease-

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In the first week of December 1948, Indian troops had captured Salhotri ridge, a strategic forward headquarters of the Pakistan Army. By 15 December, Indian troops were dominating the main Kotli-Mendhar Poonch road.

fire at the instance of the U.N. Kashmir Commission, or our taking military measures in strength against the Pakistan Armies. In any event we should be prepared for the latter, as I have no faith at all in any assurance that the Pakistan Army people might give.

You mention the possibility of the Army Division from Hyderabad being brought up to the North. Chaudhury<sup>3</sup> told me that he did not require it there. Probably it will not be needed here. But in order to avoid any risk, would it not be desirable to have it where it is easily and immediately accessible. At the most that will be an unnecessary move. On the other hand it would be a safeguard and would give greater strength and confidence to our forces. There is always a possibility that if Pakistan is foolish enough to indulge in any attack on us, we shall counter it even by crossing Pakistan territory towards Wazirabad or Sialkot. Whether we do so or not, it will be for us to determine at the time. But we must be in a position to do so, if necessity arises.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. General J.N. Chaudhury.

## 6. Message to C.R. Attlee<sup>1</sup>

I have received through the United Kingdom High Commissioner in Delhi your reply<sup>2</sup> to my message of December 20th regarding the position in Kashmir. While I fully appreciate your difficulties, I regret to find that our difficulties are not sufficiently appreciated, nor is any importance attached to the admitted facts of the situation.

The engagement of British officers by Pakistan is a matter between Pakistan and the United Kingdom Government and we would not normally wish to say anything about it. But I thought it was due to you to inform you of our conviction that some, not all, of these senior British officers, both civil and military, have functioned in a hostile manner towards India and have certainly helped in making a solution of the question more diffi-

1. New Delhi, 30 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

2. Attlee in his reply on 28 December denied that Britain was in any way pursuing an anti-Indian policy in Kashmir.



cult.<sup>3</sup> They have thus come in the way of the development of more cordial relations between India and the United Kingdom, which we all desire so much. It is entirely for you to consider what you should do about them. I do not propose to refer to this matter again.

But in view of attitude taken up by United Kingdom Government in regard to Kashmir and more particularly the attitude of United Kingdom representative in Security Council<sup>4</sup> I should like to restate certain facts which may be considered to be admitted or established beyond doubt. Kashmir, legally and constitutionally, joined the Indian Union and India became responsible for her defence. You are aware that U.N. Commission on India and Pakistan has not disputed validity of Kashmir's accession to India. When we protested to Pakistan as well as to Security Council about Pakistan's aggression on State territory which is Indian Union territory, Pakistan denied this completely and said that they had nothing to do with it. The Security Council proceeded on the basis of this denial and did not enquire further into the facts. Later it was proved as well as admitted that large Pakistan Armies were actually functioning in Kashmir State territory. It further appeared that British Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan had given an appreciation of the situation in Jammu and Kashmir which according to Pakistan led them to send their troops into Kashmir.<sup>5</sup> This admission of Pakistan carrying on war in Indian Union territory put us in a very embarrassing and difficult position. We should have been perfectly justified in taking any military action against Pakistan directly. We refrained from doing so because of our desire to limit the field of conflict and to seek a peaceful solution. Even in Kashmir we refrained from any major action although the presence of Pakistan Armies and their continuous aggressive tactics were a constant irritant. We accepted the resolution passed by United Nations Kashmir Commission. Pakistan rejected it. Evidently even all this made no particular difference to the United Kingdom's judgement of situation. Later when Pakistan complained of some relatively minor actions we had taken to

3. See *ante*, item 1, fn. 4.

4. P. Noel-Baker, the British representative in the Security Council, stated in January 1948 that fighting could be stopped only by assuring the tribesmen of a fair and speedy settlement. He also supported Pakistan in her claim to equality with India and added that the tribesmen were also a party entitled to be heard with regard to this question.

5. Sir Douglas Gracey, the British Commander-in-Chief of Pakistan Army, told the U.N. Commission on 8 July 1948 that with the Indian offensive launched in May 1948, the Government of Pakistan had no other choice than outright military intervention. He added that the Pakistan intelligence service had reports that India wanted to finish off the Kashmir campaign. If the plan had been allowed to succeed, grave consequences would have befallen Pakistan.

clear up our line of supply, you sent us a warning that we should not do so. Thus progressively Pakistan's right to carry on military operations in Kashmir State territory against us was not only admitted but any action that we might take against them was deprecated. Pakistan then indulged in aggressive action resulting in the destruction of important Beri-Pattan bridge and cutting off one of our main routes of supply. When we draw your attention to this we are again asked by you to refrain from forward movements or any provocative action.

Meanwhile it is well known that all operations in Kashmir are under direct control of General Headquarters. Pakistan functions under high-ranking British officers who are thus responsible for all steps that are being taken in Kashmir by Pakistan Armies.

These are some of the admitted facts. We have many numerous facts in our possession which we do not repeat here, which go to show intimate connection that Pakistan Commander-in-Chief and his Chief of Staff have with operations in Kashmir and their animus against India.

We confess that we are entirely unable to follow justice or logic of position taken by United Kingdom Government in regard to Kashmir and employment of British officers there in these operations. Even United Nations Commission's finding that Pakistan Armies presence in Kashmir territory appears to have made no difference. We can only conclude that his general unfriendly attitude towards India in regard to Kashmir has nothing to do with justice or equity but is apparently based on some other reasons which we are unable to understand.

We have consistently tried to bring about a peaceful settlement and, as you know, have made various proposals and commitments to this end. Pakistan has always refused to commit itself to anything and has rejected our proposals. If, as we hope, the United Nations Kashmir Commission's recent proposals<sup>6</sup> lead to some temporary understanding even so many difficulties will remain and we are sure from past experience that those difficulties will be increased by attitude taken by British officers in Pakistan.

Our recent experience in regard to Indonesia shows aggression is acquiesced in when it takes place and only party that suffers is victim of aggression.

6. See *post*, sub-section III, item 3, fn. 2.



## 7. To Mrs. Nalwa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 31, 1948

Dear Mrs. Nalwa,

I have been shocked to learn of the death of your husband, Lt. Col. I.S. Nalwa, as he was on his way to Attock Fort with supplies to the prisoners there.<sup>2</sup> I feel that I have a certain responsibility in this matter, as he went to Attock at my instance. He went on a mission of mercy and it is a peculiar tragedy that while he went to relieve the suffering of others, he met his own death.<sup>3</sup> I am deeply grieved.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Indian internees and prisoners were kept in a Pakistani camp in Attock where neutral visitors and International Red Cross representatives were allowed to visit with supplies.
3. Lt. Col. I.S. Nalwa of Indian Armed Forces met with an accidental death on the way.

## 8. To Baldev Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 25, 1949

My dear Baldev Singh,

You will have read the minutes of the Inter-Dominion Commanders-in-Chief Conference held at Army Headquarters, India, on 15th January.<sup>2</sup>

On page<sup>3</sup> of these minutes, paragraph 3, Commander-in-Chief, Pakistan, made certain recommendations to the effect that some 'Azad Forces' should continue as a Civil Armed Force in those areas etc. The Commander-in-Chief, Indian Army, is stated to have undertaken to bring this recommendation to the notice of the Government of India.

We have the strongest objection to any such proposal. It is obvious that if the 'Azad Forces' continue in any shape or form in those areas, no

1. J.N. Collection.
2. The Conference confirmed the ceasefire order of 1 January and agreed to the recommendations of the two Governments in regard to the withdrawal of Pakistan Army, tribesmen and Pakistan nationals serving with the 'Azad Kashmir' Forces and exchange of prisoners. Minor changes in troops dispositions were left to the local commanders.
3. Page number is not mentioned in the original.



single Hindu refugee will go back there and indeed the plebiscite, if and when it takes place, will be greatly influenced by them. I think, our Commander-in-Chief should have pointed this out at the time. However, I should like our Military officers to be clear in their own minds about our position and not to compromise it in any way even by passively agreeing to forward it. We are going to raise this matter with the U.N. Kashmir Commission.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 9. To K.M. Cariappa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
3 February 1949

My dear Cariappa,

Several months ago it was decided<sup>2</sup> by us that the Kashmir State Forces should function, not only operationally but also administratively and otherwise, under our Army authorities, that is to say that our Army was going to take full charge of them in every way. It was understood that we would immediately appoint a Commander for them. Some months later, in fact quite recently, I heard that we had appointed no Commander; in fact that the officer suggested by us had not been approved of by the Maharaja and therefore matters had come to a standstill. I was very much surprised to learn this and to find that a decision made by our Government had not been given effect to for such a long time. This has produced political complications and placed us in a difficulty. I do not see where the Maharaja came into the picture and how he is entitled to come in the way of a decision of the Government of India.

I should like to know what the position is now. I want to make it perfectly clear that in regard to the Kashmir State Forces full control in every way should be exercised by our Defence Headquarters through their appropriate officers. Naturally in any matter concerning Kashmir, the cooperation of Sheikh Abdullah's Government is desirable and necessary. They should therefore be consulted in regard to any steps that might be taken.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In June 1948, it was agreed that the Government of India would take over the administration of State Forces and an Indian Army officer would be appointed to reorganise and rebuild the State Armed Forces.

Some time ago it was publicly stated both by the present Kashmir Government and the Maharaja that the old bar against the employment of certain classes of Kashmir in the Kashmir State Forces had been removed and that it would be open to every Kashmiri to join them.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, I understand that all recent recruitment, amounting to about 2000 persons, has been confined entirely to the old classes, namely Dogras, etc. This means that the declarations made by the Kashmir Government and the Maharaja have not been honoured. This creates ill-will among large masses of Kashmiris and induces them to believe that we do not act up to our professions. It is necessary therefore to make it clear in every way that the Kashmir State Forces are open to all Kashmiris and in fact to recruit Kashmiris from classes other than those who have till now formed the Army. This will include both Muslim and Hindu Kashmiris who have thus far been debarred.

All these matters have considerable significance from the political point of view and therefore should be attended to with as little delay as possible.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The J & K Army had been a close preserve of Rajputs. After persistent agitation, it was announced in April 1948 that "eligible candidates irrespective of class and creed could apply for selection as cadets to be trained for commissions in the State Army."





## III. The United Nations and the Ceasefire



## 1. Kashmir and the United Nations Commission<sup>1</sup>

### Aide Memoire I

The Prime Minister drew attention to Pakistan's repeated acts of aggression against India. In spite of the presence of Pakistan troops in Jammu and Kashmir, which is Indian territory now, and the offensive action of Pakistan troops, the Government of India had accepted the Commission's resolution of August 13.<sup>2</sup> Pakistan had not accepted that resolution. In paragraph 143 of its report, the Commission has referred to its conference with the Prime Minister on the conditions attached by the Government of Pakistan to its acceptance of the resolution of August 13. As stated in paragraph 144 of the report, the Prime Minister had informed the Commission that he stood on his original premises that the Pakistan forces must be withdrawn from the State before the Government of India could consider any further step. This had specific reference to an amplification of Part III of the resolution of August 13.

Nevertheless, the Government of India had agreed to informal conversations in Paris which had resulted in the formulation of the proposals now put forward by the Commission. The Government of India naturally wondered how far this process of rejection of proposals put forward by the Commission by Pakistan and the adoption of a responsive attitude on the part of the Government of India towards the Commission's proposals could continue. The Commission must realise that there were limits to the forbearance and spirit of conciliation of the Government of India.

The Prime Minister emphasized: (1) That, if the Government of India were to accept the Commission's plebiscite proposals, no action could be taken in regard to them until Parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of August 13 had been fully implemented;

1. Dr. Alfred Lozano and Dr. Erik Colban, personal representatives of the U.N. Secretary General, visited Delhi and Karachi to discuss the proposals with the two Governments. The discussions between Dr. Alfred Lozano and Nehru in Delhi on 20 and 22 December 1948, were summarized in two aides memoire which were released to the press. *National Herald*, 16 January 1949.
2. On 13 August 1948, the Commission adopted a resolution which provided for a ceasefire, a truce agreement and consultations for a plebiscite after the truce agreement was made. The Commission recognised that Pakistan had violated international law by sending troops into Kashmir and was also guilty of not informing the U.N. about the material change in the situation introduced by this action. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 7, pp. 291-298.



(2) That in the event of Pakistan not accepting these proposals, or having accepted them, not implementing Parts I and II of the resolution of August 13, the Government of India's acceptance of them should not be regarded as in any way binding upon them;

(3) Part III of the Commission's resolution of August 13 provided "that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people and to that end, upon acceptance of the truce agreement, both Governments agree to enter into consultations with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions whereby such free expression will be assured."

The present proposals appeared to limit the method of ascertaining the will of the people regarding the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to a plebiscite.

While the Government of India adhered to their position in regard to a plebiscite, they had pointed out that, in view of the difficulties of holding a plebiscite in present conditions in Kashmir, other methods of ascertaining the wish of the people should also be explored. The Commission had itself recognised the difficulties of carrying out a plebiscite in Kashmir. The Government of India feel that the exploration of other methods should not be ruled out.

As regards (1), Dr. Lozano inquired whether there would be objection to the appointment of a plebiscite administrator until Parts I and II of the resolution of August 13 had been implemented. Both he and Mr. Colban thought that the plebiscite administrator could do useful exploratory work even before arrangements for holding a plebiscite could be taken in hand.

The Prime Minister pointed out that it was always open to the Commission to employ advisers or experts for work within its terms of reference. The Government of India, however, would regard the appointment of a plebiscite administrator, as such, premature until Parts I and II of the resolution of August 13 had been implemented.

Dr. Lozano accepted that the Commission wished the possibility of a plebiscite to be explored first. Should the plebiscite administrator, however, find a plebiscite to be impracticable, the way would be open to consider other methods for ensuring a free expression by the people of Jammu and Kashmir of their wish regarding the future status of the State.

The Prime Minister pointed out that all that the plebiscite administrator could in reason expect was that, for the purpose of organising and conducting the plebiscite and ensuring its freedom and impartiality, the Government of Jammu and Kashmir should give him such assistance as she might require.

Dr. Lozano said that a plebiscite administrator of international standing and commanding general confidence who would be appointed after

consultation with the Government of India could be expected to act reasonably and that the Commission did not intend that he should usurp the functions of the State Government in the field of normal administration and law and order. His functions and his powers would be limited to ensuring that the plebiscite was free and impartial.

B. (4): The Prime Minister drew attention to the fact that the 'Azad Kashmir' forces which had been armed and equipped by Pakistan and were under the operational command of the Pakistan Army ran into tens of thousands. Their presence in the territories referred to in A (3) of Part II of the resolution of August 13 even after demobilisation, would be a constant threat to the territory under the control of India and State forces a deterrent to the return of many refugees, and an obstacle to the free expression of opinion regarding the future status of the State by those who might be opposed to the accession of the State to Pakistan.

Dr. Lozano pointed out that it was the Commission's intention that there should be large-scale disarming of those forces, though it would not be possible to require withdrawal, from these territories of genuine inhabitants of these areas.

B (5): Dr. Lozano agreed that it was not the Commission's intention that the Pakistan Commission should operate outside Pakistan.

The Prime Minister then raised the question of the "free return" to the State of all citizens who had left it on account of the disturbances. He said that the tendency of Pakistan would be to push as many people as possible into Jammu and Kashmir. If the plebiscite was to be limited, as it should be, to genuine citizens of the State, the entry of persons claiming to be citizens into the State will have to be most carefully checked. How was this to be achieved?

Dr. Lozano said that the Commission fully realised the necessity of an accurate and effective check but had not gone into details. Possibly those returning to the State could be stopped and examined at the frontier.

The Prime Minister pointed out that, considering the length of the frontier and the ease with which people could slip across the border over mountain rocks, a check on the frontier would be neither easy nor effective except by the development of large forces. Apart from the problem of entry, there is the even more important problem of the rehabilitation and protection of those who have left the State on account of recent disturbance. Homes have been destroyed; property has been lost; there has been wholesale dispossession of persons from the land that they used to cultivate. It is not enough to 'invite' these persons to return to the State. They have to be given full security and to be housed, fed and put in a position to maintain themselves. It may be necessary to lodge these returning citizens of the State temporarily in camps for distribution in their homes. They could



not, however, be expected to remain in relief camps for long or to take part in a plebiscite from such camps. The administrative and economic implications of this task were at once significant and onerous. They must receive full attention.

B (6): It is assumed that the Government of Jammu and Kashmir will decide whether or not a person entered the State for a lawful purpose.

B (7): India is a secular State: the United Nations also are a secular organisation. Pakistan aims at being a theocratic State. An appeal to religious fanaticism could not be regarded as legitimate political activity.

Dr. Lozano agreed that any political activity which might tend to disturb law and order could not be regarded as legitimate. The same test would apply to freedom of press and of speech.

As regards the freedom of lawful entry and exit, this must obviously be governed...by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir with due regard to the security of the State and the maintenance of law and order.

In all their negotiations the Government of India have emphasized the paramount need of ensuring the security of the State. The Commission recognised this in their resolution of August 13; they have also provided in 4 (A) of the plebiscite proposals that measures with regard to the final disposal of India and State forces will be taken with due regard to the security of the State. The Government of India wish to emphasize the supreme importance which they attach to adequate provision for the security of the State in all contingencies.

## Aide Memoire II

Dr. Lozano said that the aides memoire of the conference which took place on Monday, December 20, was a correct account of the proceedings. He suggested, that by the 'large-scale disarming' of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces—what the Commission had in mind—was the disbanding of these forces; disarming, it was assumed, would follow.

The Prime Minister pointed out that disbandment was not the same thing as disarming. Pakistan had raised something like 35 battalions of 28,000 to 30,000 men who now formed part of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces. The presence of such a large number of armed people, even if the regular formations were disbanded, would not be conducive, either to ensure the



security of that part of Jammu and Kashmir which is under the control of Indian and State forces, or the security of those inhabitants of the territories referred to in A (3) of Part II of the resolution of August 13 who did not fully subscribe to or share the political views of pro-Pakistan elements. Moreover, the question of the re-entry into these territories of State citizens who had left it on account of the present conflict had to be kept in mind. With such a large number of members of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces under arms; former inhabitants of these territories who held different political views would not dare to re-enter and, therefore, would be debarred from participation in a "free and impartial" plebiscite. In view of this explanation, Dr. Lozano agreed that the phrase "large-scale disarming" should be regarded as correctly interpreting the Commission's intention.

Discussion then turned on B (10) of the proposals. Dr. Lozano, answering an inquiry of the Prime Minister, said that the Commission did not contemplate that the plebiscite administrator should undertake any administrative functions in regard to the plebiscite until Parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948 had been implemented.

The Prime Minister replied that, under the Commission's proposals, the Governments of India and Jammu and Kashmir assumed a great many responsibilities while Pakistan had to do practically nothing. The Governments of India and Jammu and Kashmir could not, in fairness, be expected to discharge any of their responsibilities regarding the plebiscite until there was satisfactory evidence that Pakistan was carrying out its obligations under Part II of the resolution of August 13.

Moreover, once the present proposals had been accepted, the things left over for discussion with the plebiscite administrator would be (1) his functions and (2) detailed arrangements for carrying out a plebiscite. A consideration of (2) would clearly be impracticable until Parts I and II of the resolution of August 13 had been implemented. Unless ceasefire was carried out and Pakistan forces, hostile tribesmen and Pakistan nationals who had entered the State for purpose of fighting had withdrawn, there could not be, in the territories referred to in A (3) of Part II of the resolution of August 13, any local authorities with whom plebiscite arrangements could be discussed. B (9) as at present worded, could be interpreted to mean that consultations with the plebiscite administrator should start immediately on the signature of the truce. This clearly was not feasible.

Dr. Lozano and Mr. Colban pointed out that, when the paragraph in question was drafted, all these considerations were not present to the mind of the Commission. They were agreed that the consultations envisaged in B (9) could take place only after the Commission was satisfied that satisfactory progress had been made with the implementation of Part II of the resolution, that is after hostile tribesmen, Pakistan forces and Pakistan

nationals who had entered Jammu and Kashmir for the purpose of fighting had withdrawn from State territory.

Dr. Lozano said that this was the interpretation of B (9) which they would present to the Pakistan Government in Karachi.

Dr. Lozano stressed the importance of appointing the plebiscite administrator as soon as possible. In view of the preliminaries that had to be gone through, he thought that it might take some time before the Plebiscite Administrator was finally appointed.

The Prime Minister pointed out that if Pakistan accepted the present proposals and carried out its obligations under Part II of the resolution of August 13 promptly, he saw no reason why the appointment should take much time. What he wished to emphasize was that there would be nothing which the plebiscite administrator could usefully do in India until progress had been made with the implementation of Part II of the resolution as now explained by Dr. Lozano and M. Colban.

As regards alternative methods of ascertaining the wish of the people regarding the future status of Jammu and Kashmir, Dr. Lozano said that it would be up to the plebiscite administrator to report to the Security Council (through the commission) if he found the plebiscite procedure to be impossible for technical or practical reasons. The plebiscite administrator and (or) the Commission would then recommend alternative resolutions.

Concluding the discussion, the Prime Minister once again emphasized the need for security for displaced State nationals returning to the territory referred to in Part IIA (3) of the Commission's resolution of August 13. Equally important would be the task of rehabilitation of refugees returning to this areas as well as to the part of the State under the control of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. Hundreds or thousands of persons were involved. Not only organisation and machinery but time and money would be needed to accomplish the formidable task of restoring these unhappy persons to what once was their home. Until this task was completed, the conditions for a free and impartial plebiscite would not exist. Dr. Lozano recognised the importance of this matter and pointed out that it will have to be carefully gone into when the consultations on the details of the present proposals take place.



### 3. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

21 December 1948

My dear Krishna,

Regarding the Kashmir proposals,<sup>2</sup> we are considering them now with the members of the Commission who have come here. In another two days or so we shall complete these talks and I shall go to Hyderabad on the 24th morning. I shall be away in Hyderabad and Mysore for five days.

I agree with what you say in your letter about these proposals. There are many snags in them and we might have an infinity of trouble. Nevertheless, the proper course seems to be to get them properly explained and in a sense limited and then to accept them generally. We have made it perfectly clear that no question of accepting them arises till Parts I and II have been fully implemented. We are quite alive to the security aspect and we are not going to weaken on that.

Yesterday I sent you a message about British officers in Pakistan Army to be communicated to Attlee.<sup>3</sup> Gracey and McCay,<sup>4</sup> both of the Pakistan Army, have done a lot of mischief. I do not mind a few odd junior officers remaining there but the senior men have no business to continue. I understand that Gracey has retired from the British Army and this may make it difficult for the U.K. Government to take any action in regard to him. Even so he is a British national functioning in a hostile manner to the Indian Union.

I sent you yesterday also a message about the Indonesian situation.<sup>5</sup> It is clear that we cannot retain our Consul General in Batavia. We are not sending our Ambassador to the Netherlands and I think we shall have to ask the Netherlands Government to withdraw their Ambassador from

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. On 11 December 1948, fresh proposals were put before the two Governments and after long discussions were incorporated in a resolution on 5 January 1949. The new proposals accepted a free and impartial plebiscite; demanded that Pakistan should implement Parts I and II of the Commission's resolution of 13 August; and said the plebiscite administrator would deal only with the organisation of the plebiscite. The term "freedom of speech" should not imply the right to play upon religious fanaticism or tend to disturb law and order; large-scale disarming and disbanding of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces should be accomplished, and ordinary offenders not be regarded as political prisoners.

3. See *ante*, sub-section II, item 1.

4. Ross Cairns McCay (1895-1969); served in the North West Frontier of India before Second World War; Brigadier Commander, Indian Army, 1943; Commander, Peshwar Area, 1947; Chief of Staff, Pakistan Army, 1948; Chief Military Adviser, Pakistan, 1951-53.

5. The message was identical to the message to Attlee, 20 December 1948. See section 2. item 1.



New Delhi. Lamping,<sup>6</sup> the Dutch Ambassador here, is quite a decent sort, a kind of moderate liberal and he is much distressed at developments. Meanwhile, Mohammad Yunus, our Vice-Consul at Jogjakarta, has also disappeared or rather is untraceable for the present.<sup>7</sup> He was with Soekarno, Shahriar and company and was to have come with them to India. We sent a special plane to fetch Soekarno and party. The Dutch Government delayed it for two days in Singapore by not granting permits. They gave the permits as they were starting action against the Indonesians. Our plane was kept in Batavia for a while and then allowed to return empty except for Patnaik.<sup>8</sup>

If there is any delay in Yunus's return or he is kept back in any way by the Dutch, we may have to take some action here.

We have communicated our message to the U.K. Government and the U.S.A., to various High Commissioners here as well as given the text of it to some Ambassadors. We have also asked, Iran, Pakistan and Ceylon to cooperate and stop Dutch Air Services from functioning across their territories. We propose to do this. If Pakistan and Ceylon agree it will be very difficult for the Dutch to fly to Indonesia. I rather doubt that Ceylon will fall into line and even about Pakistan I am by no means sure.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

6. A.T. Lamping (1893-1972); Secretary to the Netherlands Government in London and Minister Plenipotentiary in London, 1944-45; Ambassador to India, 1947-50; High Commissioner to Indonesia, 1950-52.

7. See section 2, item 5.

8. Biju Patnaik, member of the Orissa Legislative Assembly, and the head of the Indian Air Transport Command in the previous year, was sent to bring Dr. Soekarno and his men to India.

#### 4. Telegram to S.M. Abdullah<sup>1</sup>

I was hoping to meet you here today but have just heard that you are unable to come.

2. In view of political developments and taking into consideration all relevant circumstances we decided to suggest to Pakistan to ceasefire on all

1. New Delhi, 31 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

Kashmir and Jammu fronts. Our Commander-in-Chief sent message accordingly to Pakistan Commander-in-Chief Gracey suggesting cease-fire and our troops remaining in present positions pending further developments, subject to reciprocal and effective action on behalf of Pakistan.

3. Gracey has replied that his Government agree to proposal and have authorised him to implement action on lines suggested.

4. Detailed proposals and timings are now being sent. Copies of orders issued will be exchanged.

5. I expect Security Council to pass resolution on ceasefire, etc., within a few days. Immediately after that your presence here as well as Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad's would be very desirable to discuss future action. I am going to Allahabad tomorrow and returning 4th January afternoon.

## 5. To Lord Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 31, 1948

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have just received your letter of the 21st December.

Kak<sup>2</sup> has been released and has been in Delhi. I am afraid he has not forgotten his habit of intrigue.

As for Kasim Razvi of Hyderabad, I understand that he is involved in a particularly brutal murder of a young Muslim who did not side with him.<sup>3</sup> This young man's hands were chopped off and then he was killed. I do not see how I can intervene in the matter.

I recently paid a visit to Hyderabad and I had the most tumultuous of welcomes there. Conditions are outwardly normal, except for the communist parts where secret murders continue. I hope that this will be checked fairly soon. For the rest it is mainly a psychological problem, as also to some extent of relief. The Muslims of Hyderabad have received a tremendous shock by recent events and the Hindus, or many of them, have received a shock of the other kind. Adjustment will take some time. Chaudhury has done a fine piece of work and the army generally has behaved very well. We are continuing Chaudhury there for the time being.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Ram Chandra Kak.

3. Shoenullah Khan, a young journalist, who persistently condemned misrule, communalism and fundamentalism in Hyderabad was killed in October 1948.

The big news of the day is the ceasefire in Kashmir.<sup>4</sup> We had agreed about ten days ago to the U.N. Commission's proposals. Pakistan subsequently also agreed to them. We are now waiting for a formal decision from the Security Council. We felt however that in view of the general agreement arrived at, it would be a senseless waste of life not to have an immediate ceasefire and so, yesterday I asked Bucher to propose a ceasefire on all fronts to Gracey. Gracey's answer came today telling us that the Pakistan Government had agreed to this. We have now suggested 11:59 hours on January 1st for the ceasefire. The answer has not come yet to my knowledge, but I suppose it will come soon.

The future in regard to Kashmir is full of difficulty and there is going to be a great deal of trouble. But it is a great thing to have a ceasefire and to put an end to the 15 months of fighting. I am sure the news of this must have made you very happy.

We are all very happy to learn that Edwina and Pamy<sup>5</sup> are likely to visit us about the middle of February. I am looking forward to this visit greatly.

As I was dictating this letter, the New Year has crept in. We have had a hard time during the past year and no doubt we shall have to face many difficulties in this year also. I feel however that we shall make good progress and the ceasefire in Kashmir has a happy omen.

All good fortune to you in this New Year.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. India and Pakistan had agreed to a ceasefire at 12 midnight from 1st January 1949.
5. Pamela Mountbatten, daughter of Earl Mountbatten.

## 6. Cable to C.R. Attlee<sup>1</sup>

Many thanks for your telegram dated the 30th December.<sup>2</sup> India has always been anxious and ready to contribute to a peaceful solution of the Kashmir dispute. As soon as the general plebiscite proposals of the Co-

1. New Delhi, 7 January 1949, File No. KS-22/48, M.H.A.
2. Attlee had congratulated Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan on their "wise statesmanship" and expressed the hope that "no time will be lost in putting into effect the agreement of both the parties to suspend hostilities and further a peaceful settlement."



mmission had been accepted by ourselves and Pakistan, we took the initiative in suggesting a ceasefire and are glad that Pakistan responded promptly.<sup>3</sup> Senior officers of the Indian and Pakistan Armies will be meeting shortly to implement Part I of the Commission's Resolution of the 13th August. So far as we are concerned, measures have already been taken to ensure that no military action shall take place in Kashmir which might prejudice the prospects of a peaceful settlement. The Military Adviser to the U.N. Commission, General Delvoie,<sup>4</sup> has also had conferences with our Commander-in-Chief in New Delhi, and has today gone to Jammu and Kashmir for an exploratory visit.

4. General Maurice Delvoie of the Belgian Army was appointed military adviser to the U.N. Commission in 1949 but resigned in 1950.

## 7. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 3688 dated 9th January to Prime Minister.<sup>2</sup>

You appear to have misunderstood Kashmir Commission's proposals.<sup>3</sup> New proposals are addition to August 13 resolution which is confirmed. Thus withdrawal of Pakistan troops essential before any other steps taken. Further, question of plebiscite only arises, when normal conditions have been restored after return of refugees and their rehabilitation. This means lengthy period must elapse before plebiscite can be undertaken. It is quite possible that difficulties and delays in way of plebiscite may lead Plebiscite Administrator as well as Commission to consider other ways of ascertaining wishes of Kashmir people. For present, however, we proceed on lines of August 13 resolution as added to by January 5 resolution of Commission. The two must be together.

In Paris draft proposals were considered. These were varied slightly by omission of A and C which became obsolete as result of arrangements of ceasefire with effect from 1st January between two Governments. Part I

1. New Delhi, 10 January 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Krishna Menon stated that most newspapers omitted a significant point that withdrawal of Pakistani troops was a prerequisite for a plebiscite. He wanted Nehru to give a public statement to clarify that point or to publish the full text of agreement with Pakistan.
3. See *ante*, item 3, fn. 2.

of Commission's resolution of 13th August was practically implemented in advance.

We have made it abundantly clear to Commission that no question of plebiscite arises till Part II of Commission's resolution of 13th August providing for withdrawal of Pakistan troops and return of normal conditions is fully implemented. This is clearly understood by press in India. If there is any misunderstanding in England, you may remove this through informal and off the record talks with press. Formal press conference on Commission's proposals not desirable as this is likely to lead to counter-commentary by other side and thus create both confusion and possibly controversy.

All details of plebiscite have to be considered later and settled by us with Commission after implementation of August 13 resolution.

Copies of Commission's resolutions of August 13 and January 5 should be available with United Nations Office in London. We are sending them to you by fast air mail.

## 8. Ceasefire in Kashmir and World Peace<sup>1</sup>

India is happy to have given fresh proof of its steadfast desire for a peaceful solution of the dispute between member nations of the United Nations through the recognised agencies of that organisation. I share your hope that the ceasefire in Kashmir may create greater friendship and goodwill between India and Pakistan and thus facilitate the solution not only of the difficult Kashmir issues but closer, lasting cooperation in all matters of common interests and, in particular, in the promotion of world peace.

1. Message to Robert Lovett, acting Secretary of State for the United States, in reply to his cable on the acceptance of a ceasefire in Jammu and Kashmir, 12 January 1949. *National Herald*, 13 January 1949.

## 9. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram No. 181 of 13th January<sup>2</sup> regarding press report of a speech by Defence Minister. This report is inaccurate and what the Defence Minister actually said was as follows :

“The Government of India have accepted a ceasefire under certain conditions. Even though fighting has ended you will remain here for a considerable time to assist the State Government in maintaining security. Pakistan troops will have to clear out from whichever area they are now occupying before we consider reducing your numbers in the State and the area now occupied by Pakistan Forces will come under the local authorities.”

2. I do not think, therefore, that any misunderstanding could have been created in the minds of his listeners. As you doubtless know the correct position has been repeatedly set out by me in my speeches and the detailed version of the United Nations resolution has received and continues to receive wide publicity in this country. I suggest, therefore, that there is little to be gained by issuing a contradiction to the press report.

3. I returned from Calcutta only today and could not, therefore, send you an answer earlier.

1. New Delhi, 15 January 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Liaquat Ali Khan wrote that Baldev Singh's address to Indian troops in Srinagar was “not only contrary to latest U.N.C.I.P.'s proposal, accepted by Pakistan and India, but is also liable to cause serious misunderstanding.”

## 10. Telegram to S.M. Abdullah<sup>1</sup>

Pakistan Government issued long statement<sup>2</sup> yesterday on Commission's plebiscite proposals. This statement tendentious and misleading. Con-

1. New Delhi, 17 January 1949, J.N. Collection.
2. On 16 January, the Pakistan Government, in a press communique about the negotiations with the United Nations Commission on Kashmir, stated that the resolution of 13 August on the plebiscite “does not contemplate the disarmament or disbanding of the ‘Azad Kashmir Forces’,” and the occupied area therefore could remain under Pakistan's control.



ditions of our acceptance fully set out in two aides memoire which we have and which were communicated by Commission to Zafrullah Khan in December. These aides memoire have already been published. So far as we are concerned these constitute basis of our acceptance and we shall adhere to them. We have drawn Colban's attention to Pakistan's statement as well as repeated declarations by people in Pakistan which are contrary to terms of resolution and aides memoire. We are issuing short statement to this effect. Meanwhile we would like to avoid controversy and await Commission's arrival here.

#### 11. Cable to M. Gopala Menon<sup>1</sup>

Kashmir Commission. Your<sup>2</sup> telegram No. 52 dated 19th January. We have had no grievance against Korbel and have had no reason to suspect his impartiality. So far as we know he has functioned satisfactorily in the Commission and has been friendly to India.

It is open of course to the Czechoslovakian Government for reasons of their own to replace him if they so desire. There has been no question of our scrapping our nomination of Czechoslovakia and we have no intention of doing so. Please inform Doctor Houdek<sup>3</sup> accordingly.

1. New Delhi, 29 January 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. M. Gopala Menon (b. 1902); Indian diplomat; member at this time of the Indian mission at the United Nations.
3. Vladimir Houdek, permanent representative of Czechoslovakia at the U.N. There had recently been a change of regime in Czechoslovakia.

## RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

## I. Canal Waters





## 1. To Gopichand Bhargava<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
20 December 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

I have received an undated letter<sup>2</sup> from you sending me a copy of a letter<sup>3</sup> dated 11th October from Sardar Patel to you regarding the Madhopur canal headworks.<sup>4</sup> I entirely agree with Sardar Patel that it will be most inopportune to raise this question in any form at present. I am quite sure that your interests are not going to be affected by whatever future developments might be. By making any such proposal all manner of difficulties arise immediately...

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. Gopichand Bhargava thought "it is vital that a certain part of the territory of Kashmir lying to the right of the river Ravi for some length upstream and downstream of the Madhopur headworks should be in the complete possession of East Punjab."
3. Patel saw no advantage in transferring the land around Madhopur canal headworks to the East Punjab Government which Pakistan could challenge as *malafide*. "Even if things go against us," he wrote, "it is impossible as far as I can see that the part of Jammu in which the headworks are situated can go to Pakistan."
4. The Madhopur headworks lie across the river Ravi, from which the Upper Bari Doab Canal irrigates the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar and contiguous areas in East Punjab.

## 2. Interim Agreement with Pakistan<sup>1</sup>

I think it is exceedingly doubtful whether such interim agreements<sup>2</sup> can be considered international agreements of the kind referred to in Article 102 of the U.N. Charter.<sup>3</sup> It certainly is not a treaty. It was essentially a pre-

1. Note to the Works, Mines and Power Ministry, 22 January 1949, File No. 133/CF/48. Part I, Cabinet Secretariat Papers.
2. Such as the Inter-Dominion Agreement of 4 May 1948 on the canal water dispute between East and West Punjab. For details see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 6, p. 66.
3. The Works, Mines and Power Ministry had suggested that "as the agreement involved continuing obligations on both sides so long as the agreement is not terminated by either party by giving reasonable notices, it falls within the scope of Article 102 of the United Nations Charter and should therefore be registered."

liminary agreement to be followed up by a more definite and formal agreement. If we register this, why should we not register the scores of other agreements of this kind arrived at in Inter-Dominion Conferences.

2. Apart from this, I see no particular good resulting from registration and it may well result in complications and needless trouble for us.

3. If it was thought necessary to register it, I would certainly not do so without previous intimation to Pakistan. This may not be legally necessary, but there is such a thing as international courtesy and convention.

4. On the whole, I am decidedly opposed to this registration. If Hon'ble Minister (Works, Mines and Power) thinks it necessary, he may refer this to the Cabinet. I hardly think this is necessary.

### 3. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

24 January 1949

My dear Gopalaswami,

I have received a note from Gokhale<sup>2</sup> of Works, Mines and Power about the canal water dispute in the Punjab. You must have a copy of this note.

I do not quite know how matters stand now. It would of course be desirable to have this matter finally settled by some kind of an agreement or arbitration. Personally I am quite agreeable to the third course suggested in Gokhale's note, that is to say that the Governments of India and Pakistan agree to appoint a Commission with some international authority as Chairman to consider the water resources of the entire region, etc.

If there is a dispute which cannot be resolved by consultation or agreement, the only other course is some kind of joint commission or arbitration. I do not think we need fear the results of any such arbitration.

The only difficulty about this is that it will take some considerable time and meanwhile matters would be hung up.

On the whole I do not see why we should worry greatly. We have got the Inter-Dominion Agreement of the 4th May which entitles us to use

1. File No. DW(1)-CWD/49, Vol. V, (I.T. Section) 1949. Ministry of Irrigation.

2. B.K. Gokhale (1892-1973); joined I.C.S., 1915 and served in Bihar and Orissa; Administrator of Damodar Valley Project, 1946; Secretary to President, 1951-52; Ambassador to Nepal, 1952-55; Chairman, Tungabhadra Project, 1956-65.

the water progressively for East Punjab.<sup>3</sup> We are entitled according to this to raise the height of the Bhakra dam and take any other steps that we might consider desirable. We might proceed on the basis of this Agreement leaving it to the other party to repudiate it.

There is one other difficulty, the question of payment. I suppose ultimately this can also be settled by some arbitration. I do not myself attach very much importance to the West Punjab Government paying signiorage charges to East Punjab provided our right under the Agreement of 4th May is accepted and acted upon.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. An interim settlement had been reached between India and Pakistan by which East Punjab would continue to supply water to West Punjab on payment. It virtually recognised the right of East Punjab to waters of rivers flowing through its territories.





## RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

## II. Other Issues





1. To Ghulam Mohammed<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

20 December 1948

My dear Ghulam Mohammed,

I have just received your letter of the 17th December about Mr. Jinnah's house in Bombay.<sup>2</sup>

Two or three months ago our High Commissioner, Sri Prakasa, wrote to the Quaid-i-Azam about this house. Owing to the very great shortage in house accommodation in Bombay, the Bombay Government wanted to requisition it. Mr. Jinnah did not like the idea at all at first, but later when we suggested that the house might be given to some foreign consul, he agreed to this proposal and we informed the Bombay Government accordingly. I suppose it was then that the Bombay Government took some action in the matter.

I do not know what the subsequent developments have been. I am, therefore, sending your letter with its enclosure to the Premier of Bombay.<sup>3</sup> I am sure he will try his best to meet Miss Jinnah's<sup>3</sup> wishes. I suppose Miss Jinnah is really interested in having the house transferred to her in proper legal form. I should imagine that there will be no special difficulty.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Ghulam Mohammad conveyed to Nehru that Miss Fatima Jinnah, sister of M.A. Jinnah, was keen to inherit legally her brother's house situated on Malabar Hill at Bombay.

3. Fatima Jinnah (1893-1967); dentist, sister of M.A. Jinnah and his companion from 1934 till his death in 1948; presidential candidate of combined opposition parties against Ayub Khan, 1964-65.

## 2. Telegram to B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

Reports continue to reach me that attempts are being made to clear ten mile area on East/West Bengal border of Muslim residents. More especially this is reported from Murshidabad district. You have assured me that no such action is contemplated by West Bengal Government and indeed it could not possibly be undertaken as it would be entirely opposed to our policy. I trust you will make this position perfectly clear to all your district magistrates in the border districts as well as other officers concerned. At any time such rumours are injurious to us. At the present moment after Inter-Dominion Conference they are particularly harmful and should be stopped by effective action.<sup>2</sup>

1. New Delhi, 20 December 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. The question of boundary disputes was discussed at the Inter-Dominion Conference in New Delhi on 14 and 15 December 1948. B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, declared at a press conference that a tribunal would be set up before 31 January 1949 to resolve boundary disputes between East Bengal and West Bengal, and East Bengal and Assam.

## 3. To Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
21 December 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The Pakistan Press has been full of comments on what you are alleged to have said in Jaipur.<sup>2</sup> I enclose one such comment. I think something should be said to clear this up. Perhaps a part of your speech can be published or some brief statement, whichever you consider proper.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. 1 p. 250.

2. Replying on 18 December to a debate in the Subjects Committee on refugee rehabilitation in Jaipur, Sardar Patel was reported to have said that the problem of the refugees in East Pakistan was different than that of West Pakistan. In the East they were willing to go back to their homes if proper facilities and atmosphere for their return was created. If the Pakistan Government failed to do so, "then they bear the responsibility for it and account for it. It was duty of the Government of India to see that this problem was solved."

4. To Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
21 December 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your two letters of today's dates.<sup>2</sup>

What a blood-thirsty extract from the 'Azad Kashmir' Radio you have sent me.<sup>3</sup> I do not suppose it is any good sending this to the Pakistan people because they will deny connection with the 'Azad Kashmir' Radio. Nevertheless I am sending it to Ghulam Mohammed.<sup>4</sup>

Pakistan Press and Radio appear almost beyond redemption. Our own Press is certainly much better, but it does not appear to be conducted by very intelligent people. The editors are fairly careful, but the sub-editors allow their pens to run away with them and give sensational headings which are not justified by the context. Your own speech at Jaipur was reported fairly well.<sup>5</sup> But the headlines gave a completely wrong impression of what you had said.<sup>6</sup> Many people go by the headlines. You will have noticed that the foreign press people also went by these headlines and sent messages accordingly to their papers abroad.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In his letters, Patel drew Nehru's attention to a monitored report of a broadcast on 'Azad Kashmir' Radio on 19 December 1948.

3. It had described Patel as the "enemy of freedom and democracy, the guardian of cold-blooded nationalists of India, the dictator of the Indian National Congress, the hated enemy of democracy and freedom; his very name evokes hatred for him in the hearts of the Muslims."

4. See next item.

5. See *ante*, p. 242.

6. The headlines in the *Pakistan Times* on 20 December 1948 accused Patel of sabotaging efforts for inter-Dominion amity and said he sought to intimidate Pakistan.



Press has not changed very greatly since then, though I do notice some change. As for the 'Azad Kashmir' broadcasts, they continue to be as virulent and as personal as ever. In spite of the ceasefire they talk about the continuation of a *jihad* in Kashmir. You will permit me to say that I can hardly accept the argument that the Pakistan Government has nothing to do with 'Azad Kashmir' or its publicity.

You quote Sardar Patel's speech delivered on the 18th December.<sup>4</sup> I do not know if you have seen a fuller report of the speech. As a matter of fact, that speech was intended to be, and was in fact meant to convey an exactly contrary impression to what you have stated. He referred in that speech to what he had said previously on this subject and added that as there were dangerous implications in large migrations, it was essential that the migration should be stopped and that the question should be settled peacefully.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See *ante*, p. 242.

## 8. Cable to Liaquat Ali Khan<sup>1</sup>

Practically no progress has been made in the settlement of the question of evacuee property since the official level conference of March 1948.<sup>2</sup> This has caused a considerable amount of unrest among the refugees and during the December Conference we did our best to settle the question.<sup>3</sup> Your

1. New Delhi, 8 January 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. The Conference, held in Lahore from 14 to 16 March, had dealt with three important issues—the transfer of movable property of evacuees; restoration of property to evacuees who intended to return to their homes; and Inter-Dominion settlement in regard to immovable property at a later stage.
3. The Evacuee Property Committee had reached an agreement to appoint a committee of the two Deputy High Commissioners to work as a joint agency, to expedite the work of transfer of agricultural property and to facilitate the movement of movable property. It was further decided that a liaison officer would keep in close touch with the custodians of evacuee property and deal with urban immovable property. As a concession to an assessee, it was agreed that attached property would not be sold in auction without the owner's consent.

Delegation however wanted some more time for consideration and a conference was accordingly fixed at Karachi on the tenth January. The question of evacuee property is now the only source of constant friction between the people of two Dominions and I would earnestly request you to help in the taking of final decisions at the forthcoming conference. The machinery for implementation of the decisions taken should also be devised at this conference so that quick disposal of property and speedy permanent rehabilitation of refugees is ensured. The decisions taken have to be essentially just and fair if this chronic cause of discontent is to be removed. I am instructing my Delegation to help your Government in every way possible.

### 9. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 23, 1949

My dear Gopalaswami,

You have already sent a telegram to Pakistan about the desecration of the Hanuman Temple in Karachi.<sup>2</sup> I am sending you a note sent by Jairamdas Doulatram. From this it appears that the guilty parties were the National Guards. This makes matters worse. I think we must pursue this matter. If no reply has come to you yet, I suggest that another telegram might be sent by you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. On 14 January 1949, the Muslim National Guards were reported to have looted and damaged the famous Panchmukhi Hanuman Mandir in Soldier Bazar, Karachi, injuring the priest badly.

### 10. To Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 24, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a note from the Governor-General suggesting that we now lift the ban on *Dawn*.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps it will be as well if we did so. It would do us little harm and might do some good.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The ban on *Dawn* placed in early 1948 was withdrawn in February 1949.

## 5. To Ghulam Mohammed<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
21 December 1948

My dear Ghulam Mohammed,

I notice that there has been a great deal of fuss about a speech Sardar Patel delivered in Jaipur. Shahabuddin<sup>2</sup> (Minister of Interior, Pakistan) has issued a statement<sup>3</sup> on it and the Pakistan papers have also had much to say. I was very much surprised at this, as not only I, but the people present there at the time, did not notice anything of the kind criticised in his speech. Newspapers have a habit of giving sensational headlines which have no bearing on the text of the speech. As a matter of fact Sardar Patel said something the very opposite of what he is supposed to have said. Instead of using any threats, he laid stress on a peaceful settlement of our problems with Pakistan. I believe Gopalaswami Ayyangar has sent you a copy of the relevant extract from his speech.

I do not wish to enter into a controversy about our respective presses. But I must say that the Pakistan Press, in referring to Sardar Patel as well as others, uses the most intemperate and objectionable language. So does the radio sometimes.

I understand that the 'Azad Kashmir' Radio is under the control of the Pakistan Government and is run by Pakistan officers. The enclosed extract from the 'Azad Kashmir' Radio programme is a specimen of the kind of stuff they broadcast.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1945-50*, Vol. I, pp. 253-254.
2. Khwaja Shahabuddin (b. 1898); politician of East Bengal; Minister of Interior and Information and Broadcasting in Pakistan, 1948-51.
3. Commenting on Patel's speech Shahabuddin stated that it would only "sabotage efforts to solve the minority problem." He claimed that the refugees in Pakistan were better off than in India and there were no communal riots in East Pakistan.



## 6. To Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
21 December 1948

My dear Ghulam Mohammad,

You spoke to me about a proposal that the two Governors General might together visit East Bengal. You were not sure yourself as to how your Government would favour this. I have given some thought to this matter. I think that it would be desirable for this joint visit to take place. But the present hardly seems a suitable time for it. We should wait a little and see to the implementation of the decisions of the Inter-Dominion Conference.<sup>2</sup> That will create a favourable atmosphere for taking another step forward.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Held in New Delhi from December 6 to 14, the Conference reached decisions on protection of life and property of the minority communities, boundary disputes, evacuee property, insurance policies and museums and stores. Both sides also agreed to urge their media not to indulge in hostile propaganda, but stimulate hope and confidence among the minorities so that mass exodus was discouraged and evacuees could return to their homes.

## 7. To Mohammad Zafrullah Khan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
7 January 1949

Dear Sir Zafrullah Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th/30th December.

I appreciate what Khwaja Shahab-ud-Din said to the Press<sup>2</sup> and the resolutions passed by the Pakistan Newspaper Editors' Conference on the 20th December.<sup>3</sup> I must point out to you, however, that the tone of the

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See *ante*, p. 244, fn. 3.

3. The Pakistan Newspaper Editors' Conference held in Karachi from December 19 to 21, 1948, passed resolutions demanding freedom of the press and investigations of the working conditions of the journalists. Two resolutions called for the implementation of late Quaid-i-Azam's policy of "fair and generous" treatment to minorities in Pakistan and wished suitable publicity and support to be given to the representatives of the minorities.

## 11. To Prafulla Chandra Ghosh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 31, 1949

My dear Prafulla Babu,

As you know, Sri Prakasa, our present High Commissioner in Karachi, has been appointed Governor of Assam. This creates a vacancy in the High Commissioner's post in Karachi and we have to find some suitable person for it. I am writing to ask your advice in this matter.

Your name suggests itself for this very responsible post. But I do not know how you will view this. Also I am not clear whether you can be of greater use in working unofficially in East Bengal, as you have been doing, than in having to sit in Karachi as our High Commissioner. You know how much value we have attached to your going to East Bengal from time to time. The position there is, I am glad to say, improving. We have to push on this improvement. The refugee problem in Calcutta and West Bengal will become slightly more easy to tackle if conditions in East Bengal become stable. I see from today's papers that Sarat Chandra Bose intends creating trouble with the help of refugees in Calcutta.<sup>2</sup> This is a most irresponsible move.

Thus on the one hand we have to tackle efficiently and effectively the situation in East Bengal through all the ways open to us, official and non-official. Among the non-official ways the most helpful and promising appeared to be your visits to East Bengal. Your contacts there and with the East Bengal Government are good, and I am sure that if you gave some time to this work, good results would follow. On the other hand there is the High Commissionership at Karachi. The High Commissioner is also interested in East Bengal work, but rather from a distance. The High Commissioner has to function completely as a member of the Diplomatic Corps. He deals not only with the Pakistan Government, on our behalf, in one hundred and one problems but he has also to keep in touch with other Ambassadors and High Commissioners. He has to meet them fairly frequently and to report to us on their policies etc. Inevitably our High Commissioner in Karachi has a pretty busy time there and cannot tour about much, so that he is rather cut off from East Bengal. As you know, the Pakistan Government very largely consists of Punjab and U.P. men. East

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Sarat Chandra Bose issued a statement condemning the indifference and harsh treatment of the Central and Provincial Governments towards the Hindu refugees from East Bengal. He convened a public meeting on 5 February in Calcutta and asked all the refugee organisations to join him in solving the problem.

Bengal is not very strongly represented there, except for the Governor-General and one or two other persons.

As the High Commissioner functions as an Ambassador and a member of the Diplomatic Corps, his normal freedom of speech on matters of policy becomes rather limited. He has to be rather careful of what he says and of what he does not say.

I have put the facts before you and I shall be grateful if you could send me an early reply, advising me what we should do in these circumstances.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 12. To Prafulla Chandra Ghosh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 10, 1949

My dear Prafulla Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th February.<sup>2</sup> I quite appreciate what you have written. It was because of this thought that I hesitated to take the step I would otherwise have done and wrote to you about the matter. I am sure your presence and work in East Bengal will be of the greatest importance.

You mention in your letter that you should be among the Hindus of East Bengal as a citizen of Pakistan. That presumably involves the decision that you formally become a Pakistan citizen and cease to be a citizen of India. Is that what you mean?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Prafulla Ghosh agreed to go to East Bengal. "I do feel" he wrote, "that I should be in their midst, (i.e., among the Hindus of East Bengal) as a citizen of Pakistan."



13. To Zafrullah Khan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 11, 1949

Dear Sir Zafrullah,

I have received your letter of February 1st, in which you referred to a newspaper report about the R.S.S.<sup>2</sup> I do not know what this report contains, but it is obviously without much basis in fact. There is no question of a settlement with the R.S.S. The R.S.S. have withdrawn their "satyagraha" and subsequently some students and minors have been released from prison. Nothing else has happened. The others who went to prison in this connection are still there.

I have not heard of *Akhand Hindustan*<sup>3</sup> being put forward seriously by anybody. Possibly some odd individual may talk about it. We do not normally take steps because a person expresses some opinion, even though that might be opposed to our policy. The Government of India certainly have nothing to do with any proposal for *Akhand Hindustan*.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. *The Hindusthan Standard* reported on 27 December 1948 the resolutions accepted by the Council of All India Hindu Mahasabha on 26 December that R.S.S. was not a secret organisation which had a private army with arms and ammunition. The Council demanded immediate withdrawal of the ban on the R.S.S., release of Sangh workers and removal of all restrictions on the workers of the Hindu Mahasabha.

3. At a meeting of the All India Council in New Delhi on 27 December 1948, the Hindu Mahasabha adopted a resolution to establish *Akhand Hindustan*, which would be a democratic State based on the culture and traditions of the land.

## REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES





**1. To Mohanlal Saksena<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
December 20, 1948

My dear Mohanlal,

I read in the papers a day or two ago that some of the refugees in Kashmir had died of cold through exposure. I am also told that many of them are suffering very greatly in Srinagar from lack of clothing and fuel. I should like to know what steps you have taken about the Srinagar camp. As I pointed out to you before, all such steps should be taken in consultation with the Kashmir Government.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Nehru Papers, N.M.M.L.

**2. To Mohanlal Saksena<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
20 December 1948

My dear Mohanlal,

The enclosed letter was handed to me during the Jaipur Congress Session. It is an offer to give land for a thousand refugees in Bihar. I do not know anything more about it, but it is worth your while to investigate this offer.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Nehru Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Later the Bihar and Assam Governments refused to accept responsibility to accommodate refugees from East Bengal.

### 3. No Earmarking of Relief Funds for Communities<sup>1</sup>

In acknowledging this cheque for £ 53-18-0, please thank the donors and say that it will be included in the Prime Minister's Relief Fund. You might add that neither the Prime Minister nor the Government of India desire to encourage any funds which are earmarked for a special community and the Prime Minister desires to make this perfectly clear. It is true that owing to the troubles following the Partition, vast numbers of Hindus and Sikhs have suffered and have come over from Pakistan to India. These refugees have been helped by Government and there are schemes for their rehabilitation. In fact their expenditure has been very largely in relief of Hindus and Sikhs. So also other relief funds have been largely employed for this purpose. But the Prime Minister thinks it undesirable for any fund, with which he is associated, to be used for any one particular community only.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 29 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

### 4. Homes for Refugees<sup>1</sup>

The problem of accommodating the refugees is an acute one and the Government of India are trying their level best to solve it. The Government have prepared a scheme for setting up a housing factory at Delhi which, equipped with latest machines, will construct a house within a short period of 24 hours at a cost of Rs. 2,200. But one housing factory cannot be sufficient to construct houses all over India. The cities have to make individual efforts to provide homes to homeless refugees as soon as possible.

It is futile to argue that due to overall shortage of iron and steel, houses cannot be constructed. No doubt there is shortage and we are trying hard to meet it through imports from outside and production within. But this should not prevent the construction of houses, because as in the old days, houses can be constructed for immediate needs through use of more refined soil which is available in abundance in India.

The construction of cinemas and palatial buildings should be stopped till this housing problem is solved.

1. Speech at the opening ceremony of refugee quarters at Allahabad on 4 January 1949. From *National Herald*, 5 January 1949.

**5. To Mohanlal Saksena<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
January 26, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Your letter about the need for a Central Law for evacuee property. This matter, however desirable, is complicated and we cannot push through an ordinance without full consideration. It will have to go to Cabinet.

At the public meeting this evening a slip was handed to me by a girl. I enclose the slip which says :

“We wish that the public be allowed and given facilities for actually building houses for the refugees.”

The basic idea is very good, that is, that we should utilize the services of volunteers for this work. I should like you to give thought to it. Psychologically it is sound.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

**6. To Gopichand Bhargava<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
January 31, 1949

My dear Gopichandji,

Since yesterday a large crowd of refugees has been laying siege to my house. On enquiry I found that they had originally been at Kurukshetra. Then about 10,000 of them or so were sent to Ferozepur District. Conditions in Ferozepur District were so bad that they could not possibly stay there and they drifted back to Kurukshetra. In Kurukshetra they were not welcomed and no rations were provided for them. Thereupon some hundreds of them came to Delhi and are sitting here, demanding rations and work, etc.

This is their story. From other sources I find that there is a great deal of truth in this story. More especially it is reported by many persons that the state of affairs in Ferozepur District is indeed bad. It is particularly bad for Hindu refugees. But even other refugees are not welcome there. It

1. J.N. Collection.



appears that the people of Ferozepur District have decided not to allow refugees to settle down. It further appears that Hindus live there in great risk and that law and order is in a state of collapse. I am told that in Chamba District also refugees cannot get a footing.

I am immediately faced with the urgent problem of the 10,000 or so refugees who have come back from Ferozepur to Kurukshetra. What are we to do with them? It is a dangerous thing for us to start giving rations to them, because this will entirely upset our whole programme and thousands of other refugees will troop in. On the other hand, it is hardly possible to look on and see them starve. We are holding an urgent meeting tomorrow to consider this case.

You will appreciate that this serious situation has been caused by the lack of arrangements made for these refugees in Ferozepur District or in East Punjab. It is very unfair on us that they should be thrust upon us in this way and upset all our plans.

I am even more concerned by the reports I have received about Ferozepur District. No doubt you have much greater information. It is a serious matter that the decisions of your Government cannot be carried and people take the law into their own hands. Generally, reports about East Punjab are discouraging. I shall be grateful if you could kindly let me know how far these reports are correct or not and what the general state of affairs is. In any event please take steps to prevent refugees from drifting back to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. Construction of Houses in Villages<sup>1</sup>

... I should like to know if any attention is being paid (apart from mass construction of prefabricated houses) to the building of simple village houses with materials locally available. Government itself need not build these but it can experiment and suggest new models which can be rapidly constructed by people interested in them. At one of our committee meetings for housing stress was laid on this and a sum of Rs. 2,00,000 was set aside for such experiments. Except for Rs. 5000 or so, this has not been used and I believe much of it has lapsed.

I think our Housing Department should work on these lines also.

1. Note to Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry, 31 January 1949. File No. 17(67)/48-PMS. Extracts.



WITH LADY MOUNTBATTEN AT PALAM AIRPORT, NEW DELHI, 17 FEBRUARY 1949



VISIT TO HASTINAPUR WITH G.B. PANT, 6 FEBRUARY 1949





IN KURUKSHETRA CAMP, FEBRUARY 1949



IN A REFUGEE CAMP AT PANIPAT, 21 FEBRUARY 1949

## 8. Return of Refugees to Kurukshetra Camp<sup>1</sup>

The object of my calling the meeting is to consider the question of refugees returning to the Kurukshetra Camp from various parts of East Punjab specially from the districts of Ferozepur and Chamba. A number of such refugees have returned to the Kurukshetra Camp and as according to the policy of the East Punjab Government, free rations to them could not be restored, they had sent about a couple of hundred representatives to Delhi to represent here. These representatives had visited me last night and had placed their grievances before me. It appeared that the existing residents of Ferozepur and Chamba districts, specially Sikhs, have made up their minds not to have any refugees, particularly Hindus, in these districts, with the result that when, under the arrangements made by the East Punjab Government, refugees went to these districts, they encountered considerable hostility. In one case even firing on refugees was resorted to and there was also a case of abduction. As a result, the refugees now are refusing to go back to Ferozepur and Chamba districts, and the question now is, as to what should be done with them. Pending decision on this point, some relief also to those in distress is necessary.

1. Remarks at a Cabinet meeting, 1 February 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

## 9. Rehabilitation of Refugees<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: May I, Sir, answer this question?<sup>2</sup> There are so many premises in certain of these questions in the shape of 'in view of this' and 'in view of that' that it is rather confusing as to what the honourable member is driving at.

So far as the position in Eastern Pakistan is concerned, it is the Government's policy, as I believe has been stated by the Honourable Minis-

1. 3 February 1949. *Constituent Assembly (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Ist-17th February 1949, p. 216.
2. B.P. Jhunjhunwala wanted to know about the plan of the Government to rehabilitate the refugees in view of the Government's policy of not negotiating with Pakistan on the question of repatriation or asking for more land from Pakistan.



ter, that we should encourage people who have come from Eastern Pakistan to go back to Eastern Pakistan. We cannot force them; we do not wish to force them; but we should encourage them to go back. We have been assured by the Eastern Pakistan Government that they will welcome them when they go back. How far conditions are improving, it is difficult to judge; I believe they have somewhat improved. As has been stated, some people have gone back; some more may go back.

So far as Western Pakistan is concerned, very large migration had taken place, and probably a larger number went to Western Pakistan from India than those who came from the other side. The question can only be considered in terms of another exchange of populations, and this does not appear feasible. It cannot be in terms of a large number of people coming only to India from Western Pakistan as was the case some months ago. While the Government of India welcome people coming here, the position here is rather difficult and there is no room. Millions and millions have been uprooted on either side. Both Governments have to tackle their problems. It is not as though there was empty land available. It must be recognised that so far as Western Pakistan and India are concerned, any large-scale movement of population is unlikely.

## 10. To John Matthai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 4, 1949

My dear Matthai,

Bhimsen Sachar came to see me yesterday about the rehabilitation of refugees. He represented to me that a feeling of frustration was spreading among them as they were exhausting all their resources and any effective relief was not in evidence in the near future. He put forward a scheme to me and I enclose the paper he gave me. The scheme, as outlined by him, is obviously beyond our capacity. He talks of the total amount of loans running up to Rs. 100 crores. Nevertheless, the principle suggested seems to me to be worthy of consideration. That is to say that refugee owners of urban immovable properties should be advanced loans on the security of their properties in Pakistan. The amount of loan may bear any specified relations to the assessed value. He suggests 33%, but probably it should be lower, say 20% and a maximum sum should also be fixed.

1. File No. 29(129)/49-PMS.

Apart from advancing of loans itself Government may authorise banks to do so on the basis of certificates given to them and with the Government guarantee attached that it will be paid back to them after a certain period. The latter proposition with suitable safeguards might be feasible and helpful.

I should be grateful if you could have this examined in consultation with Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Mohanlal Saksena. Even the beginnings of any such scheme would cheer up the middle-class refugees greatly. The one great danger that we might have to face is the deterioration and disintegration of these people leading to their becoming completely helpless.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Mohanlal Saksena.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 11. To Choithram Gidwani<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 4, 1949

Dear Dr. Choithram,

Thank you for sending me with your letter of February 3rd resolutions passed by the Refugee Convention.<sup>2</sup>

This is a matter which should be discussed by you with Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Shri Mohanlal Saksena who have been intimately connected with the Karachi Agreement. I could not help you very much in such a discussion as it deals with all kinds of details.

If, however, some of you wish to see me, I shall arrange some time. It will have to be next week.

May I, however, say that Resolution No. 1, which states that because partition was in pursuance of a national policy the Government of India must accept full legal and moral responsibility for the losses suffered and

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The U.P. Provincial Refugee Conference was held at Agra on 8 and 9 January 1949 under the presidentship of Dr. Choithram Gidwani. The Conference passed resolutions urging the Central and Provincial Governments to expedite the work of refugee rehabilitation, grant individual loans, pay reasonable compensation for property left in Pakistan, arrange for free education of refugee boys and safeguard holy places in Pakistan.

must take immediate steps to compensate them, is based on some view of legal and moral responsibility which is not clear to me. The Government of India has a certain responsibility always for its citizens and more particularly for all those who have suffered disabilities and losses. In view of this responsibility, the Government of India has tried to meet this refugee problem with all the resources at its disposal.

While this responsibility is completely recognised, what your resolution suggests is something far more. Apart from the complete impracticability of it, it raises questions of law and morality which are very much open to question.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 12. Special Attention to Harijan Refugees<sup>1</sup>

The Government are vehemently criticised for being negligent in dealing with the refugee problem. No doubt what has been done up to this time in this connection is not sufficient for a vital problem like that of refugees. But mere criticism of the Government will not solve the problem. The Government of a country can only lend a helping hand to the people who should bear everything on their shoulders. If healthy cooperation of the people is freely available nothing can check us from reaching a solution in time.

The Harijan refugees of our country deserve special attention. The Government bear double responsibility towards them. It is our duty to rehabilitate them not only because they are refugees but also to make amends for the disgraceful manner in which they have been treated for hundreds of years. The Government of India are determined to root out all class distinctions from this land. All those who earnestly desire to solve the Harijan refugee problem should cooperate with the Government in this holy mission.

The Harijans of this country should no longer confine themselves to a

1. Speech at the opening of the Harijan Refugee Colony, Sat Nagar, New Delhi, 8 February 1949. Based on reports in *The Hindustan Times* and *National Herald*, 9 February 1949.



particular kind of work. They should be provided with full amenities to take to any trade or profession which suits them.

Unfortunately in the present structure of our society those who labour hard for their existence are least respected. But this sort of thing should not be allowed to exist any more. The Harijans should no longer remain backward. They should come forward and carry on their routine of life as others are doing.

The Government are facing innumerable problems concerning refugees. We have received many complaints, and many of them are unfortunately true. Therefore, concrete evidence of constructive work gives me special pleasure.

All sections of people should benefit by the achievement of freedom. The Government's aim is to put an end to the disabilities suffered by Harijans. Every step in this direction brings us nearer fulfilment of one of our earliest pledges.

Though the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry have not been able to achieve as much as they wanted, they keep on working despite many obstacles in their way. Each individual is responsible for getting any big task done. It is not possible for the Government to do everything; it can only help the individuals to find work for themselves.

I feel both happy and ashamed to accept gifts from Harijan children. Happy because of the love they are offered with, and ashamed because so much has yet to be done to give them all the opportunities they should enjoy. I will give the money to Mrs. Rameshwari Nehru, head of the Harijan section of the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry, for Harijan welfare.

### 13. To Mohanlal Saksena<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 9, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

I enclose an application from one Jan Mohammad<sup>2</sup> and two letters—one from Dr. Khan Sahib and the other from Mohamed Yahya Jan,<sup>3</sup> who used to be a Minister in the Congress Government in the Frontier Province.

1. File No. 28(15)/48-PMS.

2. A landlord of Peshawar.

3. Elected to the N.W.F.P. Assembly in 1946 and served as Education Minister for two years.

The application will give you the necessary information about the matter. I do not know exactly what the present law or rules are governing such cases. *Prima facie* I do not see why a man like Jan Mohammad should not be allowed to retain his property.

Apart from this, the fact that Dr. Khan Sahib has taken the trouble to write from his place of internment or prison and Yahya Jan has also done so, both recommending Jan Mohammad is important. We should go all out to meet the wishes of Dr. Khan Sahib in this matter, even if this involves stretching the rules. This is not merely a personal question of pleasing Dr. Khan Sahib but one likely to have wider consequences. We have done precious little, and indeed we could do little for our friends in the Frontier Province who are suffering so much. Therefore, if a chance comes to us to meet their wishes, we should do everything in our power to avail ourselves of this opportunity. This will have a good effect in many ways.

Mohammed Yunus Khan, who is staying with me, knows Jan Mohammad, and can supply you with any further information that you may need. I would suggest that you get in touch with him on this subject.

You will, of course, find out from the Custodian how matters stand. In any event, please ask the Custodian to take no further step before the matter has been fully considered.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru:

#### 14. To Mohanlal Saksena<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 11, 1949

My dear Mohanlal,

Numerous women continue to come to my house asking for help. They have been bringing children with them. Normally we send them on to the Women's Section of your Ministry. It is not clear what happens to them there. Unless they are widows or orphans apparently they do not come within the special scope of your arrangements. Yet obviously they are in need of help although it may be that some of them are not in such great need. It is difficult to give them money because this does not take them far and it attracts others. Their usual story is that they have exhausted their resources and can do no more without help. This is quite likely.

1. J.N. Collection.



In such cases obviously the thing to do is to give work such as sewing machines, etc. Some time back I had laid stress on the issue of sewing machines and in fact had given a special sum for this purpose to the Women's Section. They have not exhausted that sum. I was told that sometimes sewing machines given by them are sold in the market and hence they exercised care as to who should be given a sewing machine. Normally it is only given to people who have fixed habitations and who can be relied upon. That is a good rule. Nevertheless it may be applied too rigidly. If there is any kind of assurance by somebody else, it should be accepted or any other information to that effect.

Whether it is sewing machines or something else, some temporary work should be arranged. If you like, I am prepared to give some money from the Prime Minister's Fund for this special purpose.

There are some cases of orphans too which have come to my notice. What am I to do with them when they come to me or when information reaches me about them? Mridula Sarabhai mentioned the cases of three orphans in whom she was interested and who are apparently at present at Kurukshetra.

I should like to know what the position is in regard to Meos settling in Alwar and Bharatpur. For the present I am not thinking in terms of rehabilitation of Meos, although that is important, but rather in terms of food production. In view of the great need for additional food production, it has been a tragedy to have lands lying uncultivated in Alwar and Bharatpur, etc. because we cannot settle as to who should be sent there. Obviously the easiest way of utilising those lands quickly is to send the old residents of the place that is the Meos.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Rameshwari Nehru.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru





7

HYDERABAD





## 1. Dissensions in Hyderabad State Congress<sup>1</sup>

I will carefully consider the issues raised in the memorandum.<sup>2</sup> I advise the State Congress members to realise their full responsibility in the present critical times when the future prosperity and well-being of the State is in their hands. You should concentrate on service to the people, avoid fissiparous tendencies and try to get all the progressive elements into your fold thereby strengthening the organisation for the constructive work ahead of you.

The strength of an organisation does not depend on its numbers, but on the service it renders to the people and on the confidence it commands among the people generally. You should always place service above self.

I regret that, at this most important juncture, a rift should have been allowed to develop in the State Congress organisation. You must try your utmost to bring about unity and harmony again in the State.

1. Address to workers of the State Congress, 24 December 1948. From *The Times of India*, 25 December 1948.
2. The Hyderabad State Congress had split into two sections. The one headed by Swami Ramanand Tirth wished to expel from the Congress all who had failed to resist the Nizam's regime, while the dissident faction led by J.R. Desai, favoured a compromise with the Laik Ali Ministry. The memorandum presented by the section headed by Swami Ramanand Tirth urged the formation of an interim Ministry to counter the Communists and the introduction of agrarian reforms even by using force.

## 2. Need for Peace and Goodwill<sup>1</sup>

Friends and Comrades,

I had long wished to come to Hyderabad and at last that wish is being fulfilled. But I have come under such circumstances, when we have got to face in India great success and a measure of failure. Success in our achieving independence, failure in what happened afterwards. In Hyderabad

1. Broadcast on Deccan Radio, Hyderabad, 25 December 1948. A.I.R tapes, N.M.M.L.

also, there has been trouble during the past year, and many ups and downs. This trouble brought suffering to many, and conflict with the Indian Union. Fortunately, that conflict is over and we have now to face the tasks of peace and reconstruction. My special purpose in coming here is not only to bring the greetings of my Government and the people of the rest of India to all the people of Hyderabad, but also more specially to give the touch of healing if I can to the people here. We have peace, but what we want even more is peace in men's minds and the ending of hatred and conflict, which has marred our lives during the past year and more. The New Year is coming soon. Let us start this new year not only in Hyderabad, but all over India, with peace and friendship in our minds and hearts and the spirit of cooperation among all those who inhabit this great land of India. Let us contend against each other in service and goodwill. Let each one of us think more of his duties and obligations to another than of his rights. Rights come when duty is discharged and obligations rendered. Above all, let us remember the message of the 'Father of the Nation', the message of peace and friendship between the various communities that inhabit India, and let us think in terms of those who suffer and are down-trodden; and they must be raised to their proper level.

In Hyderabad, the first duty of everyone is to help all those who may be in distress and all those who may have suffered. With this duty discharged other great problems will be faced and solved with friendship and cooperation. Among these great problems is the future set-up of the Government of Hyderabad in accordance with the wishes of the people; and an urgent problem is that of the land and the agrarian system, which is obsolete and feudal. This must be changed, so that the agriculturist and the worker on the land might have his rightful due. The feudal system must go. The military administration should initiate preliminary measures for the reform of the agrarian system as soon as possible, the rest will follow. I am deeply grateful for the love and affection that the people of Hyderabad, of all kinds and classes, have showered upon me during my brief visit. I shall treasure it and it will give me further strength for the great cause for which we stand. *Jai Hind*.

### 3. Appeal for Unity<sup>1</sup>

I am addressing a public meeting in Hyderabad for the first time. Since my last visit here some years ago, many changes have taken place. Foreign rule has ended in our country and we have become independent. But independence has brought in its train catastrophes of unprecedented magnitude. In the international field too, India and the world are passing through very difficult times. The people of the world have not learnt the lessons of the two great wars. They are already talking of a third war—when it would break out and how. There is war now in China and in Palestine.<sup>2</sup> In Indonesia, the Dutch are trying to establish their control again. Many States have vanished in Europe as a result of war. Even the British Empire is shaken to its foundations, but in Britain the people are settling down with a grim determination to tackle their problems. The western world has always been torn by two opposing ideologies, the one constructive, promoting understanding and goodwill and the other, destructive, promoting division and strife. They could never find a way whereby they could create without killing.

Only in India, Gandhiji has demonstrated that we can create a new order of freedom and happiness without killing, without destroying anything. Such a man is born but once in a millennium. Gandhiji had always emphasised the value of right means to achieve right ends. He taught the weak how to organise themselves on the basis of truth and righteousness and develop strength as a nation which would win freedom from a mighty power. But we have slipped from that path. The Jaipur Congress recently adopted a number of resolutions emphasising Gandhiji's teachings.<sup>3</sup> It is our duty to implement them fully by our conduct. It is only by facing up to the various difficulties and overcoming them by right means that we can develop strength. Gandhiji has taught us an excellent way to do this and the world has begun to appreciate the efficacy of his teachings.

Our responsibilities have increased, and not decreased, after our independence. People talk about their rights. But you must remember that every privilege involves a duty, a responsibility. External vigilance is the

1. Speech at a public meeting, Hyderabad, 25 December 1948. From *The Hindu*, 27 December 1948.
2. The Kuomintang and the Communists were fighting in China and the Jews and Arabs in Palestine.
3. The Congress at its Jaipur Session in December 1948, emphasized that the party must remain a mass organisation as it was under Mahatma Gandhi, and a programme of constructive work must be undertaken by all Congressmen.



price of freedom, and it is the duty of everyone in the land to guard his freedom. A nation's freedom cannot remain secure merely on the strength of its army. India fell in the past because she was divided, and consequently weak, and not because the British were militarily superior. That is why Gandhiji made communal harmony and unity the first plank in his programme. Disunity, provincialism and reactionary tendencies can undermine any society.

India is a very wealthy and great country; but her inhabitants are indeed poor. I do not count the wealth of India in terms of gold and silver, of which we have plenty. Real wealth lies with the people. The Himalayan ranges with their invaluable potentialities of wealth in the form of electricity or minerals, are our assets. The land is our asset, and so are the men inhabiting it. Our problem is thus not the lack of resources or skills, but of harnessing them on a sound plan on profitable and scientific lines.

We have achieved political freedom, but economic freedom and economic democracy has yet to come. In winning this freedom, the cooperation of every section of the people is essential. We had drawn big plans for the development of the country and for improving the living conditions of the poor. But our plans have been upset by the troubles we have had, such as the refugee problem and the uprooting of lakhs of people from their homes. Their rehabilitation demands urgent attention and we have tried our best to help these people; yet much more is still left to be done. The goal is there constantly before us and we are doing our utmost to translate the ideal into reality.

In Hyderabad too, we are facing many problems. Hyderabad is a great State, but many of the States, great and small, present problems which are a legacy of the British regime. The problems left behind have assumed tremendous proportions and seriousness. But there is no getting over the fact that in a fast changing world, the States have to quickly readjust themselves to the changes if revolutionary changes are to be avoided, just as a child which had outgrown its clothing or whose clothing had become worn out and shrunk, has to be provided with a new apparel. Otherwise, the old set of clothes will give way. In the last few years, rapid developments have taken place in Hyderabad. Political discussions for transferring power to popular representatives and negotiations with the Indian Union had continued for a long time, but with little result. Meantime the Razakar menace grew rapidly and threatened to engulf the whole country and created tremendous confusion inside the State. No man of understanding could help seeing that the country was heading for a serious crisis. Many people had left the State in great suffering. The Government of India had, therefore, to intervene and take police action. We have set up a Military Government to administer the State.

I have been asked how long the Military Government will continue and how soon it will go and what would take its place.<sup>4</sup> I cannot give an immediate answer. But how it can go, I will tell you. Whether in India or elsewhere, no system of government can function except with the consent of the people. Ultimately it is the people who will have to decide their future and be arbiters of their own destiny.

Some people ask whether there will be an interim government or a caretaker government and so on. The Military Government is of course a temporary affair and will be ended as soon as possible and a popular government will be set up in its place. But if you ask me when exactly it will be, I am afraid I will not be able to give you an answer. If conditions improve sufficiently soon, there may not be much delay. The answer, therefore, is in the hands of the people themselves. They can hasten the change by creating the conditions which will enable us to set up a new government. And what are these conditions? The first requisite is that there should be order and peace and people should be able to live their normal lives and pursue their vocations whether in towns or in villages in a normal way without fear. Secondly it is necessary that the people who have suffered, whose houses were burnt, whose lands were snatched from them, whose kith and kin were lost or who have otherwise suffered, should be rehabilitated and relief given to them. This is an essential part of the work of restoring normal conditions. Another important point is that suffering should be relieved irrespective of community or class. People should see that conditions are created which infuse confidence in all sections of the people and promote harmony under which all will be able to lead peaceful lives without any interference. It is, therefore, the duty of everyone of you to cooperate with the government and help in relieving distress wherever you find it. This work demands the cooperation of both the government and the people and neither can do it alone. How can we plan aright for the long term unless we are able to solve immediate problems? Therefore I appeal to you to consider the immediate problems and apply yourselves to solving them. I was speaking just now of restoring peace and normal conditions. There is a lot of trouble from the Communists in different parts of the country and in some districts of the State. I will make it clear to you that whoever promotes disruption will be put down firmly. If the Communists preach their ideology peacefully and by constitutional means there is absolutely no objection. But whichever party, be it the Communists or any other, resorts to unconstitutional means and to violence, no govern-

4. The Military Government had taken over the administration of Hyderabad on 18 October 1948 with Major General J.N. Chaudhury as Military Governor. Army rule ended on 1 December when M.K. Vellodi took over as Chief Minister.



ment can tolerate it. Then it becomes not merely a question of putting down their activities but of rooting them out.

The Communists talk big about many things, but they are exploiting the economic distress among workers and peasants whom they easily mislead. Then we are asked; should we not do something to change this state of affairs apart from the question of maintaining law and order? The Communists are able to spread their insidious activities and make headway because of the conditions in which the poorer classes find themselves. But if they think that through murder, rapine and destruction, they can spread their gospel, I will tell them that they are mistaken. Such a state of things cannot be tolerated by any government.<sup>5</sup> I want to tell them that the Indian Government will do everything it can to put this down at all costs. But the people should also cooperate with the Government in this respect. The people have a duty also in this connection. I understand that very many peasants and *kisans* in certain parts of the State are almost on the borders of serfdom. The people should therefore consider it their duty to do all they can to remedy this state of affairs. The law itself must be changed, wherever necessary, to help to improve their lot. Necessary reforms must be effected and changes brought about in the agrarian system which has till now kept them in that state. Years ago, the National Congress decided that zamindari and jagirdari and other outmoded systems should go and compensation given. Madras, Bihar and the United Provinces have already undertaken legislation in this direction.<sup>6</sup> There is no getting away from the fact that this feudal system can no longer remain.

The Military Government itself can initiate preliminary measures for such reform by appointing a committee and taking steps. There is no doubt that the *sarfkhas*,<sup>7</sup> *samasthans*,<sup>8</sup> zamindari and other varieties of feudal tenure should go and give place to necessary reforms which will ensure the agriculturist and the *kisan* his due.

As a former President of the All India States People's Conference, I have had something to do with the State Congress. The Hyderabad State Congress has a special responsibility for preparing the people to shoulder

5. To deal with violence, strikes and agitation promoted by the Communists in various parts of India, the Government of India had passed several ordinances and laws in 1948 and 1949. See section 8, letter dated 24 January 1949, fn. 3.

6. In 1948, the U.P. Legislature passed a resolution accepting in principle the abolition of zamindari and in Bihar the Zamindari Acquisition Act was passed. The Bihar Tenancy Act and Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act were also amended. The Madras Estates (Abolition of Zamindari and Conversion into Ryotwari) Act 1948, established homogenous ryotwari tenure with direct payment of revenue to the State.

7. The Nizam's crown lands.

8. Large, compact jagirs, partially exempt from Nizam's jurisdiction and held by Rajas whose rights were recognised by the Nizam.





IN HYDERABAD, DECEMBER 1948



WITH THE NIZAM AND GENERAL J.N. CHAUDHURY, HYDERABAD, 26 DECEMBER 1948

the responsibility of freedom and also apply itself to the restoration of normal conditions. They should maintain discipline in the organisation and all members should build up its strength, not on numbers but on the amount of service done to the people and selfless dedication to their welfare. That was the method taught by Gandhiji who always placed importance on service, self-sacrifice and constructive work rather than on mere numbers. If members should seek position and influence and power or move away from the path of service and sacrifice, they would fast lose the sympathy of the people. I know that the members of the State Congress have done great service. But I am sorry that internecine strife had come into the organisation. Differences of views might exist in a democratic organisation, but this should not be allowed to lead to a split. In such internal dissensions, one can see the symptoms which cost India so dear in the past and take a warning from them.

There are certain elements bent on disruption. The R.S.S. has launched what they call satyagraha,<sup>9</sup> which is a libel on that expression. They would also be firmly dealt with and put down for I have no doubt that their policy is fundamentally wrong. There are other forces also at work, such as provincialism, sectionalism and linguistic provincialism. Some of these, like the claim for linguistic provinces, might be just. But this is certainly not the opportune time for pressing them. To allow these dissensions and differences to grow will be suicidal as they dissipate public enthusiasm and weaken the nation itself.

Those who had hoped to have a comparative rest from political work after the attainment of freedom have been disappointed as problems came fast upon one another in the wake of freedom and there was no escaping from any of them. In fact one cannot run away from these difficulties. One has to face them with courage and faith and overcome them. I am sure that by standing united and solid we will all be able to overcome our present problems.

In a week's time, we will all be entering a new year. Let us start the new year with a new pledge, a new resolution, that each one of us will strive to build up the freedom that has been so hard won so that every one in the country, regardless of caste or creed, big or small, rich or poor, can share equally in that freedom. If we all succeed in doing that and if we all make a united effort to achieve the other part of freedom, namely, economic freedom, then we can make India a really great and wealthy country.

9. See *ante*, p. 17, fn. 10.



Let us all dedicate ourselves to India's future and evolve an order in which Hindu and Muslim, Sikh and Parsi, Christian and Jew, would all alike share the fruits of freedom. Let us apply ourselves to maintaining law and order and discipline and to increasing productive activity so that the happiness of everyone can be ensured and India becomes a prosperous country.

#### 4. Telegram to Military Governor<sup>1</sup>

My forty-eight hours in Hyderabad have brought me many rather wonderful experiences. I must thank you and your colleagues for the excellent arrangements made throughout my stay and for the fine work you have been doing in Hyderabad in the face of a difficult situation. Please convey my gratitude to all officials and non-officials alike concerned with my visit and to the Army and police as well as to the authorities of Osmania University. I was delighted by my visit to this fine institution of learning this morning and should like to congratulate the Vice-Chancellor<sup>2</sup> and staff on the work they are doing.

Public meeting yesterday was a memorable one which I shall long remember. The arrangements for it were perfect and everyone responsible deserves credit.

Kindly convey my gratitude to His Exalted Highness the Nizam.

Above all I feel very grateful to the people of Hyderabad, both Hindus and Muslims, who showered their affection upon me in such abundant measure. I shall never forget this. I earnestly trust that the people of Hyderabad will live in amity and cooperation with each other respecting each other and working together for the progress of Hyderabad and of India.

1. Bangalore, 26 December 1948, J.N. Collection.

2. Nawab Ali Yavar Jung.

5. To J.N. Chaudhury<sup>1</sup>

Camp Bangalore  
December 27, 1948

My dear Chaudhury,

I enclose a letter I received as I was leaving Hyderabad. The writer is worried about some report about my speech that has apparently appeared in a local paper.<sup>2</sup> I do not think it is necessary for me to issue any correction. I was speaking of course in Hindustani and there was no mention by me of the word "usurped". I do not remember the words I used but the general idea was that cultivators should not be ejected from their lands at the present moment. The writer refers to small peasants having been dispossessed, uprooted and driven out of their villages. Of course if this has happened they have every right to be given possession of their land. The whole point of what I said was that we should not drive out the cultivator from his land and hand it over to the big landowner. The landowner's rights will be determined later. Small peasants should not, so far as we can help it, suffer. They should be particularly protected.

You might convey this explanation to Rameshwar Rao<sup>3</sup> or to anybody else who may be in doubt.

I have already sent you a telegram<sup>4</sup> conveying my thanks and my great appreciation of the fine work you and your colleagues have done. Hyderabad is a big and ticklish problem by itself. It becomes ever more important from its all India implications, and even some international implications. It has become the touchstone of our treatment of the minorities, more specially the Muslims. Whatever the facts might be, there can be no doubt that Muslims not only in Hyderabad but outside believe that the Hindus of Hyderabad or some of them have behaved very badly towards the Muslims after the surrender. The Muslims of Hyderabad are completely down and out. To some extent this is inevitable because they have suddenly lost the dominating position they had. They cannot get that back

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The writer reported that the Prime Minister in his address at Fateh Maidan had said that the "cultivators who had been dispossessed and uprooted from their villages should not be allowed to return to their lands and claim them back." This misunderstanding was cleared by a press note on 30 December 1948 explaining the keynote of Nehru's speech "that the small peasants should not be driven out from their land in favour of the big landowner. They should be given the possession of their land."

3. J. Rameshwar Rao (b. 1923); introduced Panchayati Raj in Wanaparty, Hyderabad, 1947; Member of Parliament, 1957-77; Director and Chairman of Orient Longman Limited since 1966.

4. See preceding item.



but it is highly desirable from the larger point of view to treat them as generously as possible and to make them feel that they have a definite place in the scheme of things. The solution of our minority problem largely depends upon the issue in Hyderabad.

For various reasons Hyderabad has had a particular place in the Middle Eastern countries. This was partly due to certain benefactions that the Nizam's Government used to give. For this and other reasons these Middle Eastern countries took a great deal of interest in Hyderabad. Even other countries in Europe and in America have taken a keen interest. We function thus in Hyderabad on the world stage and the whole question of our treatment of minorities is the issue. Pakistan of course will make the most of anything it can get hold of against us.

For all these reasons it is not only desirable but profitable from the larger point of view for us to treat the Muslims in a generous way, to give them full relief where necessary and to carry on with them in Government employment unless there is very special reason in regard to a particular individual. A very large number of Muslims in Hyderabad depended on Government employment. If they find that this is closed to them, they will despair and probably take to communist methods. At present I think they are in a receptive enough mood to welcome kind treatment and to respond to it. We should take advantage of this fact and offer them this treatment.

My own impression is that much of the trouble in Hyderabad on the part of the Hindus was due to the Arya Samaj elements as well as certain R.S.S. elements. The Arya Samaj in Hyderabad has been from many past years a very troublesome body and has done a lot of mischief. The Hindu Mahasabha also, usually functioning from Maharashtra, has done the same in past years and added to the political and communal difficulties.<sup>5</sup> These elements will no doubt try their best, in the present circumstances, to carry on in their old ways but with added vigour. This should be watched carefully.

I gathered an impression, how far it is correct I do not know, that the retaliation or whatever it was against the Muslims took place far more in certain areas<sup>6</sup> which had relatively suffered less from the Razakar atrocities. If this is true, this leads me to think that special elements from inside Hyderabad or outside were largely responsible for these misdeeds.

5. From 1937 and 1938 agitation had been carried on by the Hindu Resistance Mandal, the Hindu Civil Liberties, Aryan Congress, Arya Samaj and Hindu Sabha in the form of satyagraha against Nizam's religious policy (for example, regulating certain Hindu celebrations during Muslim period of mourning). Communal press propaganda had also periodically caused tension.

6. Attacks against Muslims culminating in loot, arson and murder occurred in Osmanabad, Bhir, Bidar, Aurad, Nagupal, Rajeshvar, Varwathi, Kamthana, Hallikhed and Nalgonda regions of the Hyderabad State from late September to early October 1948.



I quite agree with you that the name or title of the Military Government should cease and that the Government should be called now just the Hyderabad Government. It may be described as a Caretaker Government. This matter might be formally referred to the States Ministry for their concurrence.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. To the Nizam of Hyderabad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 29, 1948

My dear Friend,

On my return to Delhi this afternoon. I have received your letter of the 27th December,<sup>2</sup> for which I thank you.

I had for long looked forward to visiting Hyderabad and it was a great pleasure to me to pay this visit, even though it was a brief one. I was happy to meet Your Exalted Highness. I was deeply moved by the welcome that I got from all kinds and classes of people in Hyderabad. I earnestly trust that the present difficulties of Hyderabad State will be overcome soon and the State will make rapid progress bringing security and contentment to its people. In Major General Chaudhury, the State has a Governor at present, who is trying his utmost to put the State on the road to progress on the basis of cooperation and goodwill between the various communities that inhabit the State.

I am grateful for what you have said about me and for the courtesy you showed me. I sent a telegram to Major General Choudhury to convey my thanks to you, which I am sure, he must have done.

I thank you for your invitation to me to visit Hyderabad again before long. I fear I cannot do so for sometime owing to numerous important preoccupations. But I shall always bear Hyderabad in mind and I hope that sometime or other I shall be able to pay another visit.

With all good wishes for the New Year.

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The Nizam of Hyderabad thanked Nehru for his visit to Hyderabad, which had been such a success.

## 7. Security for Muslims in Hyderabad<sup>1</sup>

Please read the attached papers and find out from the States Ministry what the position is. I do not see why our Government or the Hyderabad Government should interfere with an insurance company which happens to have Muslims as its Directors. I trust that the States Ministry will advise the Hyderabad Government accordingly. I am not aware of any general policy governing such matters. But, in any event, in Hyderabad at present, any step discriminating against Muslim concerns will add to the prevailing distemper and fear of Muslims there about their livelihood. This is undesirable. The matters should therefore be allowed to rest where they are and it should be open to any business concern to insure with the company of their choice.

The Deccan Airways is partly a Hyderabad State concern and the present Military Governor is the Chairman of the Directors. It is particularly desirable for State concerns to show no such discrimination.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 30 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

## 8. To J.N. Chaudhury<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 8, 1949

My dear Chaudhury,

I attach a press cutting.<sup>2</sup> I am alarmed. I dislike all names being changed. More specially I dislike my name being attached in this way. Fateh Maidan is a historical name and is an attractive one. Why is it anybody's business to change or forget history with all its associations and to attach people's name in this way? Please do not let this happen in this case.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. *The Hindustan Times* reported on 9 January 1949 that there was a move to rename Fateh Maidan in Hyderabad as Nehru Maidan to commemorate the recent visit of Nehru to the State.

9. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 9, 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th January enclosing a note on Hyderabad State.<sup>2</sup> I have read this note. On the face of it, it has been written by an earnest and truthful person. On the whole I think it is a fairly correct analysis except that it is exaggerated in some places. That exaggeration is understandable in the case of sensitive persons who see horrors.

The position in Hyderabad is certainly a difficult one, both because of the Communists and internal squabbles amongst State Congress workers. It is not quite so bad, I think, as it is stated in the note. So far as the Communists are concerned, military action is definitely getting an upper hand over them. This was delayed for a little time, so that it might be undertaken in a big way.

It is not true to say that the writ of the Military Governor does not run, except in a very partial way. The Military Governor can send his men anywhere he likes. When these men go, the Communists disappear or appear peaceful citizens often welcoming our army. When the army goes on ahead, then the Communists misbehave.

I am forwarding your letter and the memorandum to Vallabhbhai.

I hope you are keeping well and that we shall soon have you here.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. It alleged that apart from squabbles among Congressmen, the condition of Hyderabad was disturbing due to Communist activities in some districts in regard to the redistribution of lands on the one hand and to the traditional oppression of Jagirdars on the other. To further complicate matters, the Military Government in some cases allowed the land, already distributed, to be retained by its new owner, while in some others, the land was restored to the previous owners but grants of money, implements and grain were made to the peasants.



10. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 2, 1949

My dear Rajen Babu,

I have your note<sup>2</sup> with its enclosure<sup>3</sup> from Shri Tatachari.<sup>4</sup>

There is no doubt that the state of affairs in Hyderabad is very unsatisfactory and members of the State Congress are quarrelling with each other forgetting the larger interest. The States Ministry is trying to do its best to put things right.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Rajendra Prasad wrote on 31 January 1949 that the bickerings in the Congress in Hyderabad was having a demoralising effect on the people at large and something should be done to end this.

3. K. Tatachari, in his note to Rajendra Prasad on 31 January, observed that both the Congress factions in Hyderabad were seeking power and nobody was interested in serving the people. He suggested that there should be fresh enrolment of members, and new leaders and office-bearers be elected.

4. K. Tatachari, lawyer and social worker of Secunderabad; suffered detention in 1948 during the Nizam's regime.

## LETTERS TO PREMIERS OF PROVINCES





1<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 23, 1948

My dear Premier,

My letters to you are becoming rather irregular and I am writing to you today at an odd time. But if I am to blame a little, may I say that some of the Premiers are to be blamed much more. They are not only irregular but some of them do not write to me for months. I am writing to you today, as I am leaving for Hyderabad and Mysore tomorrow. Also because certain important events have happened and I should like to draw your attention to them.

2. In the international field the Dutch action in Indonesia<sup>2</sup> has overshadowed, for the moment, other events. Though long expected, the crudeness and suddenness with which it came, after assurances that no such attack was intended, were surprising. As you perhaps know, I had invited President Soekarno and Dr. Shariat to visit us here. We had indeed sent a special plane to bring them to Delhi and this plane was delayed for two days in Singapore because the Dutch authorities would not give the necessary facilities and clearances for going to Batavia. When the aircraft was allowed to reach Batavia, the Dutch action had already begun and Jogjakarta was being occupied. After being held up for a day in Batavia, the plane returned empty.

3. Ever since the beginning of October we have been energetically addressing the U.S.A. and the U.K. Governments as well as other Governments on the subject of Indonesia. We have kept the Dutch Ambassador in Delhi also informed of our views. During my stay in London and Paris I pointed out forcibly the grave danger of the Dutch indulging in military action. There was general agreement that this should be prevented and I know that a good deal of pressure was brought to bear upon the Netherlands Government in this matter. I think it may be said that India's insistence and persistence produced definite results and probably delayed this military action.

4. On the 13th December we sent a final warning to various Governments and more specially pointed out to the U.S.A. and the U.K. that if the Dutch attacked the Indonesian Republic, part of the blame would inevitably be attached to those Governments. The Netherlands Government were members of the Western Union and were inevitably attached to these Go-

1. These letters in this section have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (edited), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 1 (New Delhi, 1985), pp. 246-297.

2. See *ante*, pp. 143-144.

vernments. The Netherlands Government were members of the Western Union and were receiving money from the European Recovery Programme (Marshall Aid).<sup>3</sup> It would be said that this Marshall Aid money was being utilised for Dutch imperialist ventures in Indonesia. The Western Union would suffer a grave blow in prestige and opinions throughout Asia would turn away from the Western Union and the policies that U.S.A. and the U.K. stood for. Our messages undoubtedly produced a powerful effect.

5. Immediately on learning of the Dutch attack on Jogjakarta, we communicated with various Governments<sup>4</sup> and indicated to them that we took a very serious view of this happening and intended withdrawing our Consul General<sup>5</sup> from Batavia and asking the Dutch Ambassador<sup>6</sup> to leave New Delhi. Our own Ambassador to be for The Hague had not gone yet and had been asked to delay his departure.

6. The immediate step that we are taking is to stop KLM (Dutch Airlines) flight across India. We have been in contact with Pakistan and they are taking similar action. We have also specially asked Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Afghanistan, Iran and Egypt also to deny facilities to the Dutch Airlines. The most important country in this respect is Ceylon.

7. Meanwhile the matter has come up before the Security Council and we have been informed by the U.S.A. Government that they are going to take up a strong line against the Dutch.<sup>7</sup> They have expressed their general agreement with what we had said to them and are stopping Marshall Aid for the Netherlands East Indies.<sup>8</sup> As I am dictating this I do not know what the Security Council is going to do. You will no doubt know of it by the time this letter reaches you.

8. This Dutch action will bring a great deal of misery on large numbers of people. From one point of view, however, it is perhaps a good thing that it has taken place in this particular way. It has brought to the fore the whole question of European imperialism in parts of Asia. I am quite sure that the Dutch will have to retire from Indonesia sooner or later. That retirement would have been gradual if they had been wiser and had

3. The Marshall Aid plan, proposed by George C. Marshall, Secretary of State of the United States, in 1947 and implemented in 1948, was undertaken jointly by the U.S.A. and some West European countries, to foster economic recovery after the Second World War.

4. On 20 December 1948.

5. Dr. S.C. Alagappan.

6. A.T. Lamping.

7. On 20 December the Security Council denounced the Dutch action as a "repudiation of the Renville truce signed on 17 January." The United States representative stated on 22 December that "U.S. fails to find any justification for the Dutch action."

8. Suspended on 22 December. For details see *ante*, p. 150.



come to terms with the Indonesian Republic. No one need imagine that the Dutch are going to have an easy conquest.

9. In China the course of Communist victories continues and it appears only a question of time, and not a long time, when a great part of China will be under the Communist Government. The Chinese Communists appear to pursue a line of their own to some extent and do not blindly imitate the Soviet Communists. They have made it known that they will have a coalition Government containing even members of the Kuomintang. Probably their policy, to begin with atleast, will be restrained. Their top leaders are very able men, but whatever the form of Government, it will undoubtedly be dominated by the Communist elements.

10. A session of the E.C.A.F.E. was held recently in Australia and after much argument and debate and opposition Indonesia was admitted as an associate member. The E.C.A.F.E. continues to pass fairly good resolutions, but little is actually done by it, partly because the U.S.A. are not providing either machinery or dollar exchange for the industrial rehabilitation of Eastern countries.<sup>9</sup> They are concentrated on giving help to Europe. The habit of ignoring Asia still continues. But now with the developments in Indonesia, there has been rude shock.

11. An Inter-Dominion Conference between India and Pakistan was held recently in Delhi. This Conference achieved some substantial results.<sup>10</sup> I think we should not minimise the achievements of the Conference. There is unfortunately a tendency on the part of newspapers to minimise the work of such conferences and to express their utter lack of faith in anything effective being done. One should not expect too much from anything, but I think it is true that the last Conference did take some substantial steps forward.

12. The position in East Bengal continues to be tense, though the actual flow of refugees has gone down greatly. It is hoped that with the new decisions of the Inter-Dominion Conference there will be even less tendency for Hindus to leave East Bengal. But ultimately this will depend on the proper implementation of the decisions by Pakistan especially.

13. A part of the Kashmir Commission of the United Nations has come back to Delhi and we have been conferring with them for the last three days. They have brought some fresh proposals which are in the nature of an addendum to their August Resolution.<sup>11</sup> We have given the most careful thought to this as we are anxious to have a peaceful settlement.

9. E.C.A.F.E.'s plan for reconstruction in Asia with an outlay of \$ 13,600, had been shelved due to lack of funds. The United States delegate expressed his inability to undertake any guarantee about their contribution to the proposed plan.

10. See *ante*, p. 245.

11. See *ante*, p. 225.



14. Pakistan armies made a concentrated attack by heavy bombardment on one of our important bridges in the Jammu area. This is at Beri-Pattan.<sup>12</sup> This attack went against the spirit of assurances given and it was clearly the result of some months of building up. This building up could not take place except with the help and advice of the British Commander-in-Chief in Pakistan as well as other British officers, civil and military. We have asked the U.K. Government to withdraw these British officers, who are playing such an important part in Pakistan affairs.

15. In India, as you know the Congress has met at Jaipur after a long interval. It was a successful Session in many ways and yet it is clear that we cannot have these big *melas* in future.

16. From the 15th January there will be an Indian Commander-in-Chief of our Army. We have selected Lt. General Cariappa. A new Minister of State, Shri R.R. Diwakar, has been appointed and has taken charge of the Information and Broadcasting Ministry. Shri B.V. Keskar has been appointed Deputy Minister and is working in the Foreign Ministry.

17. The R.S.S. movement and satyagraha has been going on for some time and you have had your own share of it in your province. It is clear that this type of intense communalism cannot be permitted to poison our national life and we have to take strong steps against it. No government can be absolutely uncompromising where its own citizens are concerned. It tries, or should try, to win over as many people as possible to its own side. Nevertheless, it is always a dangerous thing to compromise with something that is definitely evil. The R.S.S. movement is directly aimed at everything that nationalist India has stood for, and in the name of advocating Indian culture, it has developed a mentality of the narrowest and the most unscrupulous kind. Its methods are secret. It must therefore be clearly understood that our Government cannot compromise on this vital issue.

18. In this connection it is well to remember and to give every publicity to the resolutions adopted by the National Congress at Jaipur. These resolutions embody the general policy of the Congress in regard to domestic and foreign affairs.<sup>13</sup> The ideal we aim at is essentially one which Gandhiji placed before us. We have frequently fallen away from that ideal and many of us have been led astray both in the larger political field and in the narrow field of personal conduct. The Congress has called upon us to

12. See *ante*, p. 203.

13. In the resolutions passed on 18 December, the Congress expressed its faith in Government's economic policy and resolved to establish a secular State based on principles of equality and justice to all, irrespective of caste, class, sex and creed. It reaffirmed support to Government's basic policy in relation to colonialism, power blocs, nationalist movements in neighbouring countries and foreign possessions in India.

pull ourselves up. The Congress cannot, in the nature of things, become a narrow communal organisation. If it does not succeed in maintaining generally its previous objectives and ideals, then it falls between two stools and gradually perishes. Therefore, in our minds and in our actions, both as Government and individuals, we have to be dead clear about these ideals and objectives and not compromise with them. The R.S.S. agitation has served a good purpose in waking us to our true duty.

19. The Congress dealt with many important subjects, including the economic policy and programme. But it did not deal specifically with the peculiar and distressing economic situation that we have to face and which is stunting our activity and growth. Perhaps the subject was too difficult and intricate for a full Session of the Congress to consider it, and it was well-known that the Government was giving every thought to it. Nevertheless it is true that the situation is a bad one and there is a great deal of dissatisfaction in the country and considerable distress, more specially among the lower paid employees and workers. They are now hard hit by the high price level and they demand the fulfilment of our undertaking to raise the dearness allowance in keeping with the rising prices. Logically their demand has some strength. But it seems clear that we cannot go far in this direction, not only because of our present financial position but also because of the effect on inflation. There are some signs of improvement in the situation. But the process is slow. We have to remain vigilant and do our utmost to speed this process.

20. Cloth control has not succeeded thus far to any large extent. The policy seems to be right enough, but the implementation of it has been slow in coming. This has to be expedited and provincial governments should help in every way. Large stocks of cloth have accumulated in many places, owing to the delay in taking delivery by provincial governments.

21. There is thus a considerable congestion of cloth at production centres primarily on account of the failure of provincial nominees to purchase and take delivery of stocks allocated to them by the Textile Commissioner. Hold-ups due to transport are not at present serious. If these accumulations continue, the effect on the situation in the mills will be considerable. In this matter the provincial governments have a special responsibility and opportunity, and I earnestly trust that your government will take energetic and speedy steps to remove the bottleneck.

22. I am greatly distressed by the discontent among large sections of industrial workers. This distress is partly due directly to high prices, and partly to a psychological feeling that the burden of the crisis is chiefly laid on the workers and the higher rank of government employees are getting very high salaries and periodical increments. We should try to remove



this sense of injustice and do what we can to relieve the burden of our lower paid employees. We should not treat any large section of the working class as enemies of the nation or the community. We have to win it over to our side and gain its cooperation.

23. You will have noticed that the salary of the Governor-General is being reduced to Rs. 5,500/- per month, free of taxation.

24. We are considering the setting up of a Central Statistical Organisation. A proper system of collecting statistics and coordinating them has become essential for us. In this work also provincial governments have a large part to play.

25. This year, which has been so difficult for most of us, is drawing to a close. The next year is not going to be an easy one, but I hope and to some extent believe that the next year will bring us much nearer to the solution of some of our major problems.

26. I should like to wish you—not a happy New Year which is rather banal—but a New Year of hard and successful work leading to some advance towards our objectives.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

II

New Delhi  
1 January 1949

My dear Premier,

I am writing this to you immediately after the beginning of the New Year. The year that is just over has been a very difficult one for us and we are very far indeed from having solved our problems. We carry them on to the New Year, but I think I am right in saying that this New Year holds promise of advance and improvement. I wish you and your colleagues all good fortune and success in your service of India.

2. Before you get this letter, you will learn of two major events. One is the ceasefire in Kashmir. Some ten days ago we agreed to the U.N. Kashmir Commission's latest proposals. These proposals were a repetition of their resolution of August last,<sup>1</sup> that is to say that there should be a ceasefire and truce and that Pakistan Armies should withdraw completely from Kashmir State. We were then asked to reduce our forces in the State, subject to security reasons and protection from external aggression or

1. See *ante*, p. 225.



internal disorder. We had accepted this resolution then and Pakistan had rejected it. The last part of the resolution — Part III — said that when Parts I and II had been implemented we would consider how to find out the wishes of the people of Kashmir.

3. The latest proposals reaffirm this resolution and added general principles for a plebiscite if and when it occurred. Ultimately we agreed to these proposals after full elucidation. Pakistan also accepted them. So it appeared certain that the Security Council would confirm these proposals and that we would have a ceasefire. If this was so then it seemed to us that there was no point in continuing the operations and killing people. So on the 30th December we asked Pakistan if they would agree to a ceasefire. They agreed and some details are being settled.

4. After the ceasefire and truce, the first step that has to be taken is the withdrawal of all Pakistan Armies and auxiliaries from Kashmir State. The war in Kashmir is thus ended or suspended after fifteen months. That is a major event for us and for others and perhaps a good omen for the New Year. I would repeat that there are innumerable difficulties and hurdles still.

5. The Dutch attack on Indonesia has been fantastic and there is not a shadow of excuse for it. The Security Council has tried to avoid deciding anything for the moment.<sup>2</sup> We have been in constant touch with the U.S.A. and the U.K. and various Asian Governments in regard to Indonesia and we have brought strong pressure to bear on these Governments. Owing to the delay of the Security Council in dealing with this matter, we decided to convene a Conference in New Delhi on ministerial level of representatives of the Asian countries plus Egypt and Turkey. There is an almost unanimity of opinion among Asian countries over this issue, although it is possible that some of them may not join us in any step that we might take.

6. The economic situation does not appear to improve and is more or less static. We must watch it carefully. The Central Cabinet is going to review the situation again in about a week's time.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See section 2, item 13.

### III

New Delhi  
January 17, 1949

My dear Premier,

International affairs have been rather dominated recently by two events: the successes of the Communist armies in China<sup>1</sup> and the Dutch action in Indonesia. There was also a flare-up in Palestine when five British aircraft were shot down by the Israel army and this produced a very tense situation.<sup>2</sup> The immediate crisis in Palestine<sup>3</sup> is past and some kind of negotiations are taking place between the Arabs and the Jews.<sup>4</sup> The U.K. was placed in a very difficult position by recent developments in Palestine and Egypt, more especially as the U.S.S.R. are openly siding with Israel.<sup>5</sup> Palestine thus becomes another field of conflict between the Great Powers.

2. In China, the collapse of the Nationalist forces has been rapid and it is quite possible that the Nationalist Government might have to withdraw to South China. This means the establishment of a communist or a communist-dominated regime over a great part of North China. Probably there will be a lull in actual fighting then to enable the communist regime to consolidate its position. Both in North and South China, and more especially in the North, the civil war has brought much havoc and it will take some time before any kind of stability is visible. Of course, the return of stability may be hindered by a continuation of war. Probably war will continue in theory though it may be moderated in practice.

3. The victory of the Communists in China has far-reaching consequences not only to that great country but also to Asia as a whole and to the world. It is a little difficult to assess these consequences. Opinions vary.

1. Chinese Communist forces launched a vigorous offensive at the beginning of January, marched upto Nanjing-Shanghai area with little resistance and captured Tiensten and the whole of North China. The Chinese Government failed to resist this advance and appealed to the Big Powers to end the civil war.
2. The incident took place on 7 January 1949.
3. On 8 January Israeli forces shot down two R.A.F. planes over the Negev area and captured one pilot. The planes were on "armed reconaissance raids." Britain simultaneously announced the acceptance of Trans-Jordan's request to send a British force to Akaba, a Trans-Jordanian post near the Palestine frontier.
4. Israel and Egypt had agreed to a ceasefire in the Negev desert area on 7 January 1949. Negotiations for armistice started between Israeli and Egyptian representatives with a U.N. mediator as Chairman.
5. The Soviet Union at this time extended support to Israel by giving it massive military aid through Czechoslovakia and diplomatically supporting it in the United Nations. This was to counter the British attempt at winning over the Arabs and also to deprive them of facilities at Haifa port and bases in the Negev desert.



Some people think that this regime will be hundred per cent communist, others think that it will be a balance between communism and the Chinese temperament and genius. The Chinese never lose their essential characteristics and patterns of living and thought. Probably in long perspective this Chinese pattern may maintain itself and it may be that a special Chinese type of communism might be evolved.

4. As China is in a state of acute disintegration, there is no danger of any aggression on the part of Communist China on any adjoining country for a considerable time to come. What is likely to happen is that Communist parties in other countries will be greatly encouraged by the success of the Chinese Communists. It is likely that a Communist Government in China to begin with, will be some kind of a coalition government which will function rather moderately and avoid any act which will bring it into trouble with other powers. Their general foreign policy, however, is likely to be in line with Soviet policy. This will affect Korea more especially.<sup>6</sup>

5. The developments in China are having and will continue to have powerful reactions on the world situation though nothing obvious may happen for some time. In a sense the precarious balance of power is affected and the U.K., U.S.A., and other like countries have to face new problems in a new context. India rather suddenly and inevitably becomes the most important country of Asia, apart from the Soviet North. Relatively, therefore, the importance of India in world affairs has increased and all eyes are turned upon her.

6. The part that India has taken in regard to Indonesia and the summoning of the Asian Conference in New Delhi have further drawn world attention to India's role in international affairs and more especially in Asia. It is being increasingly realised that Asia has been ignored by the world powers in the past and now they are suffering for this neglect. In thinking of Asia they now think of India and of the line India may or may not take. Thus a great burden and responsibility is cast upon India. We have proclaimed, repeatedly and deliberately, that India does not seek any leadership of Asia or of any other group but facts and circumstances are compelling India to play an important role in these developing world events.<sup>7</sup> This requires careful thought and a balanced judgment.

7. Sometimes, individuals and newspapers talk rather wildly of India standing forth bravely as a crusader to protect Asia. A great country has to act quietly and with strength and not in an agitational manner and with threats to other countries. Apart from the impropriety of such behaviour, it would not be in accordance with facts and with the capacity of India

6. North Korea was dominated by the Communists while South Korea was under Syngman Rhee with American support.

7. Address to press at Calcutta, 13 January 1949, see *ante*, p. 159.



today to take effective action. We have, therefore, to proceed with a certain caution and deliberation and at the same time to adhere to the principles we stand for.

8. The action we have taken on Indonesia has made it perfectly clear that our foreign policy is independent of every other country. That, of course, does not mean that we function in isolation and in opposition to others. It does mean that even though we are still members of the Commonwealth of Nations, we can and do function as we want to. People who have criticised the possibility of our having some future relationship with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth must realise now that even if there is such a relationship, it cannot affect our foreign policy. That would not mean our lining up with any particular group of nations.

9. The line that India has taken in regard to Indonesia and the summoning of the Asian Conference have compelled other countries to wake up to the dangers flowing from Dutch aggression. They have realised that if this type of aggression is allowed to go unchallenged there will be catastrophe on a vast scale. I am writing to you on the eve of the Asian Conference and delegates from the countries invited are already arriving. Every country that was invited has accepted our invitation and is sending over a delegate or an observer. The only country that was unable to do so is Turkey. They expressed their inability to join the conference but assured us of their complete sympathy with the line we had adopted in regard to Indonesia. The Security Council is at present meeting at Lake Success. I do not know what their final decisions will be regarding Indonesia. But undoubtedly they have realised that they cannot submit tamely to what the Dutch have done there.

10. Apart from the immediate objective in view, the Asian Conference is a historic and unique occasion bringing a large number of Asian Governments together. No doubt this will lead to a closer understanding of each other and to further possibilities of cooperation in many fields. We have made it clear that neither this conference nor any other kind of cooperation is conceived in any spirit of hostility to other countries or groups. This is not a diplomatic statement to get over possible difficulties, but represents what we honestly think is good for India, for Asia and the world.

11. We have not invited the U.K., the U.S.A., or the U.S.S.R. to this conference although all of them are greatly interested in Indonesia. To have invited them all would have meant making this a miniature U.N. Assembly with the same conflicts and arguments. Apart from this, these great powers are dealing with the matter in the Security Council and it was difficult for them to function both there and in this conference at this particular moment without embarrassment to various parties concerned. The conference is not intended to bypass the Security Council in any way

but rather to help it and to impress upon it the strength of our feeling in the matter.

12. The recent terrible racial riots in Durban in South Africa are an awful reminder of racialism which South Africa has nurtured.<sup>8</sup> It is peculiarly distressing that Indians and Africans should come into conflict in this way. We have emphasized for many years that we want full cooperation all over the continent of Africa between Indians and Africans, and that we do not desire any privilege for Indians there or vested interests which go counter to the interests of the Africans. That is the only right and safe policy for us in foreign countries, more especially in Africa, and it is a matter of deep sorrow to me that this racial conflict should have taken place in Durban. We have not got all the facts yet and we are enquiring.

13. You will have noticed a number of statements in the press about the Kashmir ceasefire and proposals for a plebiscite. Only today Pakistan came out with a long statement which is very tendentious and misleading.<sup>9</sup> What we have agreed to with the Commission is clearly stated not only in the Commission's proposals but in the two aides memoire which have been published.<sup>10</sup> These aides memoire were accepted by the Commission and were given to the Pakistan Government in December last. It is surprising that Pakistan should try to challenge this at this stage by publishing a long and misleading statement. It must be remembered that our acceptance is entirely based on what we have stated in our aides memoire and the Commission have completely agreed to this. We are not going back on this. We have made it clear that the 'Azad Kashmir' troops have to be disbanded and disarmed. Further that the Pakistan Commission, which is referred to in the proposals, will not function in any part of Kashmir State territory. Thirdly, that, while legitimate political propaganda will be given full scope, we are not going to permit fanatical religious propaganda of any type and appeals to religious prejudice. This is important as Pakistan and 'Azad Kashmir' propaganda has been based on an exploitation of religion and the cry of *jehad*. You will realise that there are still many hurdles in our way in Kashmir even after the ceasefire.

14. We do not wish to enter into public controversy with the Pakistan Government on this issue at this stage, but we have issued a brief state-

8. On 13 and 14 January 1949, serious racial riots took place in Durban (Natal). For details see section 13, sub-section II, item 1.

9. See *ante*, p. 231.

10. The aides-memoire published by the Government of India on 13 January 1949 set forth the substance of discussions with the representatives of the U.N. Commission, Dr. A. Lozano, on 20 and 22 December 1948. See *ante*, pp. 219-224.



ment clarifying the position.<sup>11</sup> The U.N. Kashmir Commission is expected to reach India by the end of this month.

15. The Inter-Dominion Conference at Karachi met with greater success than perhaps was expected.<sup>12</sup> This is a happy sign and it would bring, I hope, relief to large numbers of refugees. In East Bengal the exodus to West Bengal was stopped.<sup>13</sup> We hope that gradually there will be a reverse movement, though this cannot be on a big scale. Meanwhile, of course, it is our duty both in West Bengal and elsewhere to try our utmost to solve the problem of refugees by helping them and rehabilitating them.

16. I have recently returned from Calcutta where I took part in an impressive and unique ceremony. This was the reception to the Buddhist relics.<sup>14</sup> This ceremony was colourful and international, with all the Buddhist countries well represented. It was gratifying to see all these nations of the Buddhist world looking to India, not only with friendship but as the mother-country from which their great religion originated. It was a home-coming of many things, the more important of which were those of the spirit.

17. The R.S.S. movement has practically faded away though some arrests here and there continue. At no time did it rouse any public enthusiasm. It has represented extreme reaction and an immense limitation of vision. Its lack of success is a healthy sign for India. But we must not be over-confident and allow this evil to remain.

18. My colleague, Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar, the Railway Minister, has had negotiations with the railwaymen.<sup>15</sup> These negotiations were on the whole helpful but there is no certainty yet as to whether there will be a strike or not. It surprises me that in the present state of affairs in the country any responsible person should talk light-heartedly of any strike, much more so of a strike on the Railways, which would do great injury to the country and its production. Ultimately it will injure the railway-

11. The statement pointed out the fallacies in the Pakistan Government's interpretation of the conditions for the truce and withdrawal of troops by both sides.

12. The Inter-Dominion Conference held at Karachi from 10 to 12 January 1949 agreed that sales and exchanges of urban immovable property should commence from the 1st of February at the latest, and law relating to evacuee property should be amended as quickly as possible to be in conformity with the agreement. As regards movable property, the joint committees which were to be set up for the purpose should discuss with Provincial Governments measures necessary to ensure the safety of property owners and their representatives.

13. According to the West Bengal Government, 1, 56, 851 persons had migrated from East to West Bengal till 1 January 1949.

14. See *ante*, p. 101.

15. On 4 January 1949, Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Jayaprakash Narayan, President of the All India Railwaymen's Federation, reached an agreement on the main points in the railway dispute.



men even more than the others. The community generally will react very unfavourably to them. I earnestly trust that no one will encourage this kind of stabbing of India at a critical moment in our history.

19. The economic situation does not improve rapidly though there are some signs of improvement. The Finance Minister recently laid stress on stabilizing prices first and then gradually trying to lower them.<sup>16</sup> His statement was to some extent misunderstood and it was thought by some people that he did not wish to lower prices.<sup>17</sup> What he said was that the first step is to check every tendency to inflation and rise in prices and thus to create conditions when a healthy and continuous lowering can take place. He spoke cautiously and with full deliberation so that he might not mislead anyone or raise false hopes. But the fact is, of course, that our whole object is to lower prices. I should like to draw your special attention to certain resolutions passed by the Working Committee of the Congress in regard to the economic situation.<sup>18</sup> We have all to tighten our belts during this period. I have no doubt at all in my mind that economically India is basically sound and potentially strong. But for the moment we have to face certain difficulties, among them being the necessity of importing large quantities of foodstuffs and the shortage of dollars with which to pay for them. We have to conserve our resources and avoid all waste. I hope that the next few months will show a definite trend for the better.

20. India is definitely marching ahead in many ways, but there are still many factors which tend to pull her back or impede her progress. But the general movement forward is becoming more and more apparent.

21. In a letter from one of our Governors the following passage occurs: "All these Public Security Acts authorising arrest and detention without trial lead to a sense of frustration and outbreaks of violence. I devoutly wish that normal conditions, and with them ordinary processes of law should soon be restored so that Government might escape the odium of acting tyrannically by locking up people without reasonable cause." I entirely agree with this and have frequently written to you about it.

22. In less than two weeks a whole year will have passed since the Father of the Nation passed away. We shall observe that day, January 30. I hope, in a prayerful spirit thinking of him and of his great ideals and dedicating ourselves to the cause for which he lived and for which died.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

16. See *ante*, p. 47.

17. As for example, Jayaprakash Narayan had criticized the Government's intention being only to stabilize prices at the current level.

18. The Working Committee, meeting at New Delhi on 10 January, sought popular cooperation for the Government's anti-inflationary measures and the economic programme formulated at the Jaipur Session and recommended a period of austerity and concerted effort for more productive and cooperative distribution.

IV

New Delhi  
January 24, 1949

My dear Premier,

We had recently the Conference on Indonesia which has been a great success and which has enhanced the prestige of India all over the world. We have also had an Inter-Dominion Conference between India and Pakistan at Karachi which has also yielded substantial results and we are on the way to solving some of our conflicts with Pakistan.

All this is to the good, but just about this time various events have happened which have powerfully affected public opinion and caused a great deal of distress to people favourably inclined to our governments. There has been the police firing in Calcutta,<sup>1</sup> and in several provinces there has been, for some time past, a spate of legislation confining the liberties of the individual.<sup>2</sup>

All this is no doubt necessitated by events and by the action of some people who are bent on creating mischief. In Calcutta some kind of bombs were actually thrown on the police. I cannot judge of the peculiar circumstances in each case and only the provincial government can do so.

I am writing to you, however, to point out to you the damage that is being done to the reputation both of the Central Government and the provincial governments by these developments and a feeling that is growing that our Governments rely far more on the repressive arm of the State than on other methods of dealing with a complicated situation. It is felt by many of our friends that we resort to arrests, detention, banning, and police action far too readily and that we do not pay enough attention to the basic causes which produce this unrest and trouble. The real trouble-makers are relatively few, but when there is widespread unrest they can exploit it for their own purposes. Any conflict with government gives them a fresh stick to beat government with and excite public opinion against government.

I should like to draw your attention to these unfortunate developments because, both in India and abroad, our reputation is suffering.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. See section 11, sub-section II, item, 2, fn. 2.

2. Armed Forces Act (Special Powers) and Security Amendment Act were passed by the Legislative Assembly of West Bengal in September 1948. The Essential Services (Prevention of Strikes) Bill and Public Safety Acts were introduced in the Parliament in 1948. The Madhya Bharat Public Safety Bill was passed on 6 January 1949. By these acts the State Governments were vested with the powers to detain persons suspected of indulging in unlawful activities.



## V

New Delhi  
February 3, 1949

My dear Premier,

The outstanding fact in the domestic sphere of the last fortnight was the observance of the first anniversary of Gandhiji's death. For a day atleast the people of India raised themselves from the rut of their day-to-day politics and conflicts and thought of higher things. I earnestly trust that we shall continue to endeavour to keep up to that level of thought and action and live up to the advice, in accordance with Gandhiji's message, that so many of us, from the Governor-General downwards, have given. I am quite convinced that even from the narrowest viewpoint of national self-interest, that is the only policy that will advance India's interests. It will certainly also raise India's prestige in the world and help in promoting world peace.

2. India played an important part on the world stage at the Conference on Indonesia that was held in Delhi. This Conference was viewed with apprehension in many capitals, as it indicated rather forcibly, that India and Asia were going to function in international affairs independently and would no longer follow the lead of some of the great Powers.<sup>1</sup> The Conference was a great success in every way and there can be no doubt that it has been of help to the cause of Indonesia. The Security Council Resolution, inadequate as it is, still follows the lead of the Delhi Conference on many matters. It remains to be seen how far the Dutch are going to act up to this resolution. Probably they will not reject it outright, and yet they will try to bypass it or ignore it. It is therefore necessary for us to be vigilant.

3. The freedom of Indonesia is important in itself and is further important because it affects the whole situation in South East Asia. It has become a test case and in a sense our whole future is tied up with it. On the one hand, if, as I hope, by our and others' actions, Dutch imperialism is eliminated from Indonesia, that will be a great victory for all those who are opposed to colonialism. If the Dutch, with the passive consent or acquiescence of the principal Powers, managed to retain their imperialist hold over Indonesia, then there will be complete disillusionment in regard to the Security Council and the United Nations, and other forces will come into play. Even so, the situation will not and cannot remain static. It is clear that the Dutch are having no easy time in Indonesia and will never be able to subdue the people there completely. The

1. See fn. 1 of previous letter.



only way to peace lies in the withdrawal of the Dutch from any dominating role in Indonesia.

4. From the point of view of Asia, this Conference has been a turning point in history. This fact is well recognised by competent observers all over the world. It means new alignments and a new balance of power, if not now, then in the near future. We have stated repeatedly that we do not want to form a new bloc of nations or to range ourselves against any existing bloc. Nevertheless, it is inevitable that as a result of this Conference and other causes, the countries of Asia will come closer together and that India will play a leading part in this. This brings to India new responsibilities.

5. The situation in Burma has been a deteriorating one. The principal opponents of the Burmese Government are not now the Communists but the Karens, who want a separate State.<sup>2</sup> The Communists are, however, still playing an important role and will no doubt profit if any change in Government takes place. Owing to the serious military situation in Burma, the delegation headed by the Congress President, which was to have gone to Burma, has been stopped at the last moment at the request of the Burma Government.

6. In China, major changes are taking place and there is no doubt that within a short time the Government of a great part of China will be Communist dominated. It appears that a part of the old National Government is establishing itself at Canton. We have given serious thought to these developments and have decided, in common with other interested powers that, for the present, our Ambassador will continue to stay at Nanking. But we are sending a senior officer of consular status to Canton. These are temporary measures and our subsequent steps will depend on the developments that take place. In this matter we are acting in line with most other Powers.

7. The question of the recognition of the new State of Israel has been fully considered by us, more especially after the recognition given to it by the U.K. Government and some other Governments.<sup>3</sup> Any action that we may take must be guided not only by idealistic considerations but also a realistic appraisal of the situation. Our general policy in the past has been favourable to the Arabs and at the same time not hostile to the Jews. That policy continues. For the present we have said that we

2. Burma was in the throes of civil war with the Karens, a group speaking a Sino-Tibetan language, settled in Eastern and Southern Burma, and forming one-tenth of Burma's 17 million population, fighting for a State of their own. Between 27 to 31 January, the Karens seized Bassein, the principal port, Toungor, the rail-road connection between Rangoon and central Burma and the town of Insein on the outskirts of Rangoon.

3. On 29 January 1949.

are not recognising Israel.<sup>4</sup> But this is not an irrevocable decision and the matter will no doubt be considered afresh in view of subsequent developments, including the final decision of the United Nations.

8. The riots in Durban have been a painful reminder of the difficulties of the situation in South Africa. In view of the judicial enquiry that is going to be held there, it is not proper for us to come to any conclusions. But, it is stated that there was a good deal of instigation for these riots, and the racial policy of the Union Government is itself partly responsible. Nevertheless, it must be remembered that no amount of incitement would lead to such riots unless there was some basic ill-will between the Africans and Indians in South Africa. The fundamental problem then is how to remove this ill-will. It has been our definite policy to encourage cooperation between Indians and Africans all over the continent of Africa. Further, that no Indian vested interests or monopolies should come in the way of the advancement of the African peoples in their homelands. We have emphasized this again. There is little doubt that there is a feeling among some Africans that Indian monopolies come in the way of their growth.

9. Whatever the immediate future may be in Africa, it is clear that the whole continent of Africa has got a big future and changes will take place there fairly rapidly. Those changes will be governed by the new political consciousness of the African people. We welcome this new consciousness and wish to cooperate with it. You may remember that we gave some scholarships in India to a number of young African students two years ago. Unless Indian residents of Africa can pull on with the Africans and cooperate with them, they will have little place there.

10. In Malaya, the situation is unsatisfactory from the Indian point of view.<sup>5</sup> Indian labour there has not had a square deal at any time and even in the recent disturbances there they have suffered although they have taken very little part. We have drawn the attention of the U.K. Colonial Office to this matter.

11. The question of the nationality of Indians abroad is giving us some trouble. It is a complex question which can only be finally decided after the Constituent Assembly has laid down what constitutes Indian nationality and how it can be acquired. Indians abroad have first of all to decide whether they wish to adopt the nationality of the country they are in or to retain their Indian nationality. They cannot have it both ways. If the former, they lose political rights as Indians and gain citizenship rights in the country they live in. This applies chiefly to coun-

4. This was communicated to the British Government on 1 February 1949.

5. The Malayan Indian delegate attending the Jaipur Congress had complained of the deteriorating labour conditions marked by increasing violence in Malaya.



tries like Burma and Ceylon. In Ceylon, as you know, there has been no satisfactory understanding between us and the Ceylon Government on this issue.<sup>6</sup>

12. In the British colonies there are many Indians still. Their status as British subjects has been a vague one thus far. It has to be clarified soon. If India retains any kind of vague connection with the Commonwealth of Nations, then it should not be difficult for these Indians in British colonies to fit in the scheme of things without ceasing to be Indians. Otherwise, they will have to choose finally between the two nationalities.

13. Then there is another question. Are Indians abroad, who do not choose to become nationals of the country they are living in, to be considered as Indian nationals or Pakistan nationals? If their original homeland is taken into consideration, this would afford a test. But owing to large migrations, this is not a satisfactory test. For instance, the Indians (Hindus) who originally lived in Pakistan and then settled down in Burma, many want to become Indian nationals. As they have no home left in Pakistan and they have no present home in India, it is a little difficult to fit them in under any nationality clause. For the present, we have directed our representatives abroad to treat everyone, Hindu or Muslim or belonging to any other religion, as an Indian national, if he expresses his desire to be so treated. This is subject to any such person not acting contrary to Indian interests. Probably some transitory provision might be made on these lines in our future definition of nationality.

14. In any event, it must be clearly borne in mind that Indians abroad have to live in terms of full cooperation with the people of the country they live in. This is not only a good principle in keeping with our general policy, but is also inevitable in the circumstances.

15. While our general relations with the Pakistan Government have on the whole improved, events happen from time to time which are distressing. One of these recent happenings was the desecration and looting of the big Hanuman temple in Karachi.<sup>7</sup> The activities of the Muslim

6. According to the Ceylon Citizenship Act No. 18 of 1948, an Indian Tamil born in or outside Sri Lanka before 15 November 1948, would be a citizen by descent if his father, paternal grandfather or paternal great grandfather was born in Sri Lanka. A person born in Sri Lanka on or after 15 November 1948, would have citizenship if at the time of his birth, his father was a citizen of Sri Lanka. This legal formulation was designed to deny citizenship to Tamils of Indian origin, not only those living but those yet to be born. As the Indian Constitution treated persons of Indian origin permanently settled in another country as citizens of their respective adopted countries, they became stateless persons.

7. See *ante*, p. 247.



League National Guards have also been sometimes very reprehensible. It is satisfactory to find, however, that the exodus of Hindus from Eastern Pakistan has practically stopped.

16. You will have noticed that our High Commissioner in Pakistan, Shri Sri Prakasa, has been appointed Governor of Assam. As High Commissioner he held one of our most difficult diplomatic posts. He held this with dignity and success. We have not yet nominated his successor in Karachi.<sup>8</sup>

17. The politics of West Punjab have been in a curious state of upset for a long time and have led the Pakistan Government to a dismissal of the Ministry and the application of Section 92-A.<sup>9</sup> Even in the North West Frontier Province<sup>10</sup> and Sind<sup>11</sup> similar difficulties are in evidence. The democratic form of government has not been a remarkable success in Pakistan and gradually authoritarianism is being established. In the Frontier Province, conditions have been distressing for a long time and the Khudai Khidmatgars or the Red Shirts<sup>12</sup> have been suppressed and sought to be completely crushed. The tribal areas have their problems unsolved.<sup>13</sup> You may remember that last year there was a good deal of bombing from the air of the tribal areas by the Pakistan Air Force. It is a matter of great distress for us that some of our old and valued colleagues like Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib have, from such reports as reach us, been treated in a very bad way. Fantastic reports have appeared in Pakistan newspapers of our sending large sums of money to them as well as to the tribal people. These reports are completely false. We have, in fact, had no contacts with any of these people ever since the partition.

8. Sita Ram (1885-1972); educationist and politician from U.P., was later appointed High Commissioner of Pakistan in March 1949.
9. On 25 January 1949, after some Ministers of the West Punjab Government had resigned demanding an enquiry into charges of corruption and maladministration against the Premier, Khan Ifikhar Hussain Khan, Sir Francis Mudie, the Governor, took over the administration of the province and ordered fresh elections to the legislative assembly.
10. On 22 August 1947, the elected Ministry headed by Dr. Khan Sahib was arbitrarily dismissed and replaced by a Muslim League Ministry. This was followed by the arrests of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Khan Sahib in June and September 1948 respectively and the declaration of Khudai Khidmatgars as an unlawful body.
11. Yusuf Abdoola Haroon, though not a member of the Sind Assembly, was appointed Premier of Sind after Pir Ilahi Bux, who when disenfranchised by the election tribunal had resigned.
12. Founded in 1929 by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgars, or the 'Servants of God' also known as the 'Red Shirts', had been active in N.W.F.P. against British rule.
13. In the tribal areas in the north and west of Pakistan, some Jirgas refused to acknowledge the Pakistan Government's authority, demanded an independent 'Pakhtoonistan' State and protested strongly against the arrest of the Khan brothers.

18. The Pakistan Government and the so-called 'Azad Kashmir' Government have been carrying on a great deal of propaganda in regard to Kashmir. They are obviously greatly agitated as to what might happen there and have deputed one of their Central Ministers, Mr Gurmani,<sup>14</sup> to prepare for a possible plebiscite. Other Ministers of the Pakistan Government, including their Prime Minister, have visited those areas of Kashmir which are in possession of Pakistan troops. The general line has been to try to interpret the decisions of the U.N. Kashmir Commission in a manner favourable to them. As a matter of fact, what has been said on behalf of Pakistan in this regard has been completely wide of the mark and contrary to the decisions and arrangements arrived at. We have preferred not to enter into public controversy, as not only this was unbecoming, but also because the Kashmir Commission is arriving here soon. Our position is stated clearly in the resolutions of the U.N. Commission and in the aides memoire<sup>15</sup> and letters, which we wrote to the Commission, and which they accepted as correct. All these have been published in the press. But in order to facilitate reference to them, I am sending you separately a paper issued by the Ministry of External Affairs containing recent documents regarding Kashmir.

19. The U.N. Commission is expected here very soon and they will no doubt clarify the position. We do not propose to vary the position we have already taken up in any way. It is possible that this may give rise to certain difficulties so far as Pakistan is concerned, and we shall have to face them.

20. I would add that while the Kashmir problem, in its various political and economic and other aspects, is a difficult one, there is absolutely no need for any apprehension and anxiety in regard to it. I was astonished to read certain statements made by Shri Sarat Bose in regard to Kashmir.<sup>16</sup> These indicated a height of irresponsibility which is surprising from any person conversant with politics. Factually, they were not correct and the only result that followed from them was to give Pakistan material for propaganda, which they eagerly seized.

21. In regard to certain other statements made by Shri Sarat Bose, notably his strong denunciation of some of our foreign missions and estab-

14. Nawab Mushtaq Ahmad Gurmani (1905-1981); Prime Minister, Bahawalpur State, 1947-48; Minister for Kashmir Affairs, 1949-51 and for Home Affairs, States and Frontier Regions, 1951-54; Governor of Punjab, 1954-55 and of West Pakistan, 1955-57.

15. See *ante*, letter dated 17 January 1949, fn. 10.

16. On 18 January, Bose had described the reference of the Kashmir question to the United Nations as a blunder. He also asserted that if a plebiscite took place, Kashmir would opt for Pakistan.



lishments,<sup>17</sup> I would also say that they are factually incorrect in many particulars and very irresponsible. One would have thought that Shri Sarat Bose would have taken the trouble to find out the facts from responsible persons before giving publicity to his own opinions. He did no such thing and hastened immediately after his return to India to give press conferences and the like containing a host of mis-statements.

22. As you know, the R.S.S. movement has been unconditionally withdrawn.<sup>18</sup> The Home Minister has discussed future policy in regard to the R.S.S. with Premiers. There is a spate of rumours published in the press which has little justification in fact. Naturally we are anxious that our young men and students who have been misguided enough to participate in this movement should not suffer. It is therefore desirable that these young men should be released. If they function wrongly again then action has to be taken. In regard to the others, there should be no hurry in releasing them and the situation should be closely watched. A great deal is said about negotiations with the R.S.S. leaders. So far as we are concerned, there is not much room or anxiety for negotiation. It must be remembered that the R.S.S. is an organisation which has always said something and done something else. They have called themselves a social organisation and yet they have functioned actively and violently on the political plane. Therefore, any assurances they may give have no particular value. It is only action that counts. For the present, therefore, it is best to watch events and developments and not in any way to encourage the R.S.S. leaders to imagine that we are anxious for some kind of a settlement with them.

23. The economic situation continues to dominate the scene in India. The recent addition to dearness allowance, which the Government have announced,<sup>19</sup> has undoubtedly affected adversely many provincial governments. We quite realise that. But we came to the decision after prolonged consideration and consultation. In the balance, I am convinced that that was the right decision and that will ease the situation as a whole. It is clear, however, that the existing disparities between the Central Government employees and their salaries, etc., and the employees of provincial governments and State Governments are a cause of grave dissatisfaction. We shall gradually have to evolve some uniform treatment.

24. There have been some strikes recently which can hardly be called economic strikes. A definite attempt to sabotage is to be seen in these stri-

17. See section 10, sub-section V, item 2, fn. 2.

18. On 2 February 1949.

19. On 20 January 1949, the Government announced an increase of Rs. 10 per month as dearness allowance for those Central Government employees whose basic pay was less than Rs. 250 per month.



kes. Then there is a threat of Posts and Telegraphs strike<sup>20</sup> and possibly a railway strike.<sup>21</sup> Government have done everything in their power, having regard to their resources, to ease the situation for their employees. They just cannot do anything more. If, in spite of this, there is any strike then the only course open to Government is to meet it with all the strength it has.

25. We must distinguish between the two labour approaches. One approach deals with the real difficulties and disabilities of labour and employees; the other tries to gain political advantage and sometimes even threatens complete disruption and chaos. The former approach has to be met sympathetically, the latter must be opposed. We must try to gain the goodwill of as large a section of the community as possible. We must, at the same time, oppose those whose aim seems to be to break up everything and create chaotic conditions.

26. This argument applies to the use of repressive measures also. These measures unfortunately become inevitable sometimes and we have to use them. But always we must remember that repression has never crushed an idea or solved a problem. It is a temporary expedient for special occasions. There is tendency sometimes to get used to the repressive apparatus and try to meet every problem by its means. That is a dangerous trend and we must always pull ourselves up. As I have pointed out to you, we have gained abroad a rather bad reputation because of the repressive legislation that has been passed in various provinces. I would beg of you to keep this matter in mind not only for the sake of our reputation but also from the point of view of solving the problems. In particular, the curtailment of the powers of the judiciary in regard to such matters is a most dangerous expedient as then the one great check on abuse is removed.

27. Perhaps the most important problem for us from the economic point of view is the food problem. I fear we have no record of success in regard to this and we have to face grave difficulties. We must tackle this afresh, not in a departmental way, but as emergencies are tackled. It is essentially a problem which requires:

- (i) An authority which can deal rapidly both in regard to policy and implementation.
- (ii) Complete cooperation between the provincial governments and the Central Government.

20. The All India Council of Postmen and Lower Grade Staff Union decided to strike from 9 March demanding higher wages and permanent status for temporary staff.

21. A call was given on 20 January 1949 for a strike from 9 March 1949. See also p. 39.

- (iii) Constant watching of results by statistical and other methods.
- (iv) The cooperation of the public, that is to say continuous approach to the public to inform them of how they can cooperate and measures taken to facilitate this.

28. We are thinking about putting up some kind of authority mentioned in No. (1) above. You will remember that in the course of the war the then Government formed some kind of a War Emergency Committee or War Resources Committee. We must look upon this food problem as a war problem or rather as a war against scarcity of food and deal with it as such.

29. It is clear that on account of a number of causes—the last World War, partition, etc.,—the situation we have to meet is not a temporary upset but something much more radical. It is clear also that while we must and will import foodstuffs from outside to fill the gap in India, we cannot rely indefinitely on outside sources. This import of large quantities of food from outside is having a disastrous effect on our economy. It is not absolutely necessary for a country to be self-sufficient in food. But any large gap is a dangerous thing. Gandhiji constantly laid stress on our not relying on outside sources for food and to adjust our own supply and modes of living to the circumstances. I do not think a sufficient effort has been made to this end. There has been a good deal of talk about Grow More Food but it is not at all clear what the results of this campaign have been. We have come to rely more and more on food from outside, which means dollars.<sup>22</sup> That is a very unhealthy situation. We may carry on for a year or two in this way, but something has to be done to put an end to it within a reasonable period.

30. This does not mean, as has been suggested, that we must stop industrial growth or reduce it to a minimum and concentrate all our energies on food production. That will produce an unbalanced economy and the progress of India would be retarded. We must therefore aim at a balance between agriculture and industry.

31. We have a number of big schemes in progress or in preparation which will lead to more food production. At the same time we have to remember that the population is growing and this will consume all the additional food, without bridging the gap. The population problem is another important problem. I need not go into it here. We have, of course, to proceed with our big schemes and at the same time to consider smaller schemes which might bring quicker results. The Grow More Food

22. In January 1949 the Government had decided to import 4 million tons of foodgrains because of poor crops in West India and damaged crops in U.P., Bihar, Bombay and Central Provinces.



campaign was really aimed at these smaller schemes. But it is impossible to find with our present data how far it has succeeded. There has been an impression that results had not been adequate and much of the money supplied has been wasted or not usefully employed. All these matters have to be gone into.

32. One aspect of the question, to which Gandhiji always referred, was an attempt to change our food habits so as to bring them more in accord with existing facts. If there is not enough rice, more wheat should be consumed. If both wheat and rice are lacking, then we must take to something else to some extent. It must be remembered that other countries have suffered greatly owing to food scarcity during the last war. They faced the situation not only by rationing but by inducing the public to take to other kinds of food which were available. Indeed, there was no choice about it. We are so accustomed to our age-long habits that we do not easily adapt ourselves to a change, but circumstances compel us to do so today. Indeed, it is well known, that purely from the health point of view some of our food habits require a change.

33. I should like to suggest some practical steps which can be easily given effect to:

- (i) The use of highly polished rice must be forbidden. This has been repeatedly recommended but little has been done, though, I believe, some provinces have taken steps to this end. Polished rice is bad from the health and nutrition points of view. It involves wastage too. If semi-polished rice was used or unpolished rice, the community would benefit in many ways.
- (ii) It is quite easy and desirable to mix powdered sweet-potato with wheat. Speaking from experience, I can say that the mixture (25 per cent sweet-potato and 75 per cent wheat) is excellent. From the point of view of nutrition, it is a good mixture and it tastes good. If we could use sweet-potatoes in this way to any large extent, we would be well on our way to fill the wheat scarcity in the country. Sweet-potatoes can be easily grown and the quantity produced in a patch of land is very great, much greater than that of wheat. In some countries, notably in some states of America, sweet-potatoes are in great use. Apart from inducing the public to use this mixture, all governmental agencies, rationing authorities etc., can certainly start by doing this. Perhaps this may not be possible immediately because of a lack of a sufficient quantity of sweet-potatoes, but certainly if we take steps from now, we ought to be able to get sweet-potatoes in adequate quantity fairly soon.



(iii) Gram can, of course, be mixed with wheat producing a highly beneficial and tasteful mixture for bread.

(iv) Bananas, or plantains as they are sometimes called in India, are very good food and easily grown in abundance. Their cultivation should be encouraged.

(v) There is at present a glut of sugar and large stocks. Probably after the next season the position may grow worse. We must provide for this immediately by reducing sugarcane cultivation and turning the land to wheat, sweet-potatoes, etc.

34. These are just some odd suggestions that struck me. But even those simple methods, if actively followed, would go a long way to solve our food problem. I commend them to your attention and trust that you will take steps in accordance with them.

At the same time an active and persistent campaign should be carried on to prevent waste which still continues. Some provinces have rules about the number of courses and number of people to be invited; others have no such restrictions. Situated as we are today, there must be these restrictions and lavish meals and banqueting must be frowned upon as bad form and anti-social.

35. I have written to you a long letter for which I apologise. I would again draw your particular attention to what I have said above regarding the food position and to the urgent necessity of adequate machinery being devised at the Centre and in the provinces for quick action and full cooperation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

VI

New Delhi  
15 February 1949

My dear Premier,

There has been no outstanding event in foreign affairs during the last fortnight, though many important happenings have taken place. In China the situation continues to be confused. The Communist forces are in a dominating position and there appears to be nobody strong enough to check them. Frantic attempts have been made to come to

some kind of an agreement with them.<sup>1</sup> But they have not succeeded. Part of the old Nationalist Government has gone to Canton and part remains at Nanking.<sup>2</sup> Between these two sections, there is a certain tug-of-war and a pulling in different directions. Meanwhile, the Communist forces are calmly consolidating their position. Probably a compromise with the old regime would give them certain advantages, as they would then be the successor authority in law. On the other hand, this would also mean their succeeding not only to the status of the old Government of China but also to its liabilities. Hence it is possible that they might prefer the way of conquest to the way of compromise.

2. Generalissimo Stalin's offer made through a press correspondent for further negotiations etc., has met with a rebuff in the U.S.A.<sup>3</sup> While it is difficult to appreciate any rejection of a possible avenue towards settlement, it is equally difficult to deal with foreign affairs through press interviews. This new technique through the press almost indicates that what is desired is publicity and not so much a settlement. Each party seems to be bent on manoeuvring itself into a favourable position. The U.S.A. are anxious to finalise the Atlantic Pact<sup>4</sup> and to strengthen the Western Union before they enter into any further negotiations.

3. The Netherlands Government has not yet given any indication about its attitude towards the Security Council resolution on Indonesia.

1. Chiang Kai-shek, in his new year message, suggested a plan for a negotiated peace with the Communists, and on 8 January, asked U.S.A., France, Britain and U.S.S.R. to mediate. The plan was rejected by the Communists, but the plan for ceasefire announced on 14 January by the Communists was accepted by the Nationalists on 19 January. Peace talks started in April 1949.
2. On 25 January, Sun Fo, Premier of the Nationalist Government, shifted his headquarters from Nanjing to Guangzhou (Canton). A group led by President Li Zongren, which favoured a compromise with the Communists, decided to continue functioning from Nanjing. Sun Fo returned to Nanjing on 28 February 1949.
3. Replying to a questionnaire from the International News Service on 30 January 1949, Stalin said in a broadcast that the Soviet Union was willing to make a joint declaration with U.S. outlawing war. He was prepared to meet President Truman to draft a world peace pact, and was ready for gradual disarmament. He added that the Berlin blockade could be lifted if only the Council of Foreign Ministers discussed the future of Germany "as a whole" and the United States, Britain and France postponed the creation of a separate West German state.
4. At the initiative of the United States, a North Atlantic Treaty Organisation was set up on 4 April 1949. Its members were the United States, Great Britain, France, Canada, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Italy, Denmark, Iceland, Norway and Portugal. It aimed at ensuring the stability, well-being and collective defence of the North Atlantic areas and consequent strengthening of the Western Union.



There has been a crisis in the Dutch Government.<sup>5</sup> On the whole, however, it seems exceedingly unlikely that the Dutch Government will agree to that resolution. The consequence should be some stronger action by the Security Council. What exactly the Security Council will do then, cannot be prophesied. It is clear, however, that nothing short of an implementation of that resolution will bring peace to Indonesia. Even that resolution is not considered enough by the Indonesian Republic.<sup>6</sup> The next fortnight should see some clear development of the situation,<sup>7</sup> and it may then be necessary for the countries represented in the recent Conference on Indonesia in New Delhi to take stock of the situation and decide on their course of action.

4. The situation in Burma continues to be difficult. There has been intense fighting in the Insein area between the Burmese forces and the Karens. Over four thousand Indians have been evacuated from Insein to Rangoon and the problem of giving relief to them has to be faced by us. The Burma Government is organising relief. But this is not likely to be sufficient. We have, therefore, asked our Ambassador to give relief where needed and have supplied him with some funds for this purpose. A number of Indians will probably want to return to India. We are making arrangements to this end.

5. Except for the loss of a good deal of property in Insein, where a number of buildings were burnt during the fighting, Indians have not suffered any casualties. Fortunately, neither party in the civil war has attacked them in any way. They were given full facilities by both parties to withdraw from Insein.

6. In South Africa, the racial troubles in Durban have subsided, though the situation in parts of South Africa is not very satisfactory. There has been an attempt for the Indians and Africans to come together. This has to be welcomed. Meanwhile, widespread relief is necessary. We have sent further funds to our representative there for relief purposes.

5. The Dutch Cabinet was divided on the question of acceptance of the Security Council's resolution of 28 January and on the question of release of all Republican leaders. Dr. Sassen, the Minister for Overseas Territories, resigned on 12 February in protest against the Security Council's resolution.

6. The Republican Emergency Government demanded recognition and immediate restoration of the Republican territory as a precondition to any settlement.

7. On 26 February, the Netherlands Government announced a round table conference at The Hague to facilitate transfer of power to the Indonesians by 1st July 1949, but maintained that the Dutch forces would be retained in Indonesia to help the new government. The plan was rejected by both the United Nations and the Republicans.



7. The U.N. Commission on Kashmir has come to Delhi and has begun its series of talks and interviews. There is nothing further to add to what I wrote to you on this subject in my last letter.

8. Coming to India, I returned from a brief visit to Gujarat yesterday. I visited Ahmedabad, Anand and Godhra. I found that the famine situation was a grave one, but it was being tackled efficiently and effectively both by the local authorities and a non-official Famine Relief Committee. The chief difficulty, as usual, was transport. I visited many institutions and was particularly struck by the progress made in many directions. The University town of Vallabh Nagar<sup>8</sup> near Anand was particularly impressive. What struck me most was the adaptation of the work being done there to village conditions. Another striking feature was the atmosphere of self-help and self-reliance. Whatever they could not get from outside because of transport or other difficulties, they tried to make locally. Teaching was taking place in half-finished buildings, sometimes even without roofs.

9. While the Federation of Railwaymen has yet come to, decision about a strike,<sup>9</sup> a section of the railwaymen dominated by the Communists have decided on a strike. It may, therefore, be expected that partial strike on the railways will take place. It is clear that this strike is a purely political strike meant as a challenge to Government as such, and has little to do with economic grievances. Government, as you know, have gone all-out to meet the demands made upon it, even at the cost of the rest of the community. This has been appreciated by a large section of the railwaymen. But one section is bent on a strike, whatever Government may or may not do. This strike, therefore, is in the nature of a revolt and indeed the circulars issued by this section speak approvingly of sabotage and widespread damage to railway properties. No Government can watch this kind of thing supinely. Therefore, we have to face this challenge and we have to prepare fully for it. This preparation means protection from possible sabotage and in this the cooperation of your Government is particularly needed. You will receive advice and suggestion on this matter from our Home Ministry.

8. Nehru laid the foundation-stone of the new University named Vallabh Vidyanagar on 13 February 1949.

9. The proposed railway strike was voted down by the General Council of All India Railwaymen's Federation on 17 February 1949 at Patna. Three Railway Unions who had resolved to go on strike on 9 March 1949 were expelled from the Federation. The strike failed in the face of strong official counter-arrangements and concessions and because of lack of support from the main body of railwaymen.

10. The question of the right to strike by Government servants in essential services is receiving attention.<sup>10</sup> Government have no desire to come in the way of trade unionism or to forbid strikes for economic reasons. But there are certain essential services in which any breakdown would injure the larger community greatly, and some protection is necessary. At the present moment, any stoppage of transport would seriously affect the feeding of famine-ridden populations, apart from dislocating the distribution of food all over India.

11. The food situation was discussed in Parliament some days ago and very strong criticisms were made.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps some of the criticisms were justified. We must always be ready to correct our errors. In any event we cannot treat this food situation lightly. I wrote to you at some length about it in my last letter. I would point out to you that basically the situation is not a dangerous one or one which we cannot tackle effectively.

12. Briefly put, it may be said that before the war there was a three per cent deficit in our food requirements. This three per cent deficit was supplied through normal channels from abroad, chiefly from Burma. The war and the partition resulted in increasing our basic deficit to about 6 to 7 per cent. This has been partly caused by the wheat growing areas of the Punjab and Sind being cut off from us. This present year the deficit is larger and is between 9 to 10 per cent because of bad harvest and other calamities.

13. The basic problem, therefore, is to cover the 6 to 7 per cent deficit, having due regard to a growing population. This should not be difficult even in existing circumstances and without any large food growing schemes coming into operation. When our major river valley schemes are functioning, we shall bring considerable areas under cultivation. But even before that happens, I think it should not be difficult to meet the present deficit. We must, therefore, definitely aim at meeting this deficit within two years or so and putting an end to the import of large quantities of food from outside.

14. This necessitates our undertaking relatively small schemes which can bring rapid results. I was pleased to find that three new schemes are being investigated in the Narbada and Tapi valleys. These are not

10. The Bill introduced in Parliament on 25 February to prevent strikes in essential services was withdrawn on 5 March following an assurance from the Railwaymen's Federations and the All India Telegraph and Telephone Engineering Union that they would not participate in the proposed strike.

11. On 3 February, there was a debate on the non-official resolution in the Constituent Assembly demanding investigation into the reasons for the failure of the Grow More Food campaign. Members also suggested suitable legislation for the purpose.



expensive as such schemes go and are likely to yield substantial results within two or three years. I imagine that other provinces could also have similar schemes. I should like to draw your special attention to this matter. If you have any ideas on this subject, please communicate with us and we shall immediately explore them further. Meanwhile, we must go ahead with procurement and the other steps that I mentioned in my last letter about changing our food habits. You have already been addressed about reducing sugarcane cultivation, which means reducing the price of sugar. I understand that this matter is being considered at a conference in New Delhi soon.

15. If we could even stop the wastage of food, that itself would go some way to meet our deficit. I would suggest to you again that there should be a strict limitation to the number of people at banquets and the like and to the number of courses served.

16. I would welcome any suggestions from you on this question of increasing our food supplies.

17. The situation in regard to the Akalis in East Punjab and Delhi has deteriorated. The most irresponsible and incendiary speeches have been delivered by some Akali leaders and extraordinary demands have been put forward which are completely at variance with our policy in regard to communalism. Indeed it has been stated in public by some Akali leaders that they will pursue the policy which Mr. Jinnah adopted in the pre-partition days. It is most unfortunate that there should be any persons in India who can think or talk in this irresponsible manner.

18. It is clear that we cannot tolerate communalism or accept any demand which is so totally opposed to our general policy. It is proposed to hold an Akali Conference in Delhi on the 19th and 20th February. A public meeting has been forbidden. But there may be a gathering in a local gurdwara. We have no desire to prevent any gatherings in gurdwaras, provided they are for a religious object and do not get converted into a political meeting. There is a possibility of the situation becoming a serious one, as we do not propose to surrender to threats or violence. I would suggest to you to be prepared for any contingency that might arise.<sup>12</sup>

19. There is another and relatively small matter, to which I should like to refer. This relates to official dress. People have often suggested that there should be a national uniform dress in India. It is difficult to have a uniform dress in a big country with varying climates and old established customs. Nor do I see any necessity for an absolute uni-

12. See p. 425



formity. But a certain uniformity for official occasions appears desirable. We should proceed rather carefully in this matter and without any compulsion. For our Ambassadors abroad we have laid down that a black *sherwani* and *churidar* pyjamas should be used on official occasions. This has been fairly successful. Where possible, this dress might be used for official occasions, and an alternative is a black buttoned-up short coat with white trousers. This latter dress is simple and convenient. There should be no ties or collars. Modern life demands something which does not get entangled in machinery, trams and buses and railway trains. We have, therefore, suggested to our officials in New Delhi to adopt this dress for official occasions. But we have made it clear that this is not to be considered compulsory. We hope that the habit will grow gradually.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## VII

New Delhi  
15 February 1949

My dear Premier,

Shri Sri Ram<sup>1</sup> has sent me a note on the food problem. He has distributed this rather widely and perhaps you may have seen it already. Nevertheless I am sending you a copy as it is an interesting and instructive note. I do not recommend everything that he has said in this note, that is for you to consider. But I think the main argument is sound and we should proceed along the lines indicated.

He suggests that the District Magistrate should be given a deputy for his normal work while the District Magistrate himself concentrates on various aspects of food production, etc. I rather doubt if the District Magistrate can do this because of his other very important responsibilities. But it is worthwhile considering whether he should be given a deputy who will concentrate, under his direction, on the food problem and production of foodstuffs.

I am sending this note to you because I welcome all suggestions. We must get out of the rut of thinking on old lines and explore every avenue. We must think in terms of making India self-sufficient for

1. (1884-1963). A leading industrialist of Delhi.

food as soon as possible. There is no alternative and it is fatal] business to go on imagining that we should import large quantities of food from outside. It is also not healthy to wait till some large schemes materialize. Even without those large schemes we must try to balance our diet and balance our consumption with our production. We must always remember that the population is growing and unless we proceed at a faster rate in food production than the growth of population, we shall always be in difficulties. Therefore an approach from all directions, and an immediate approach is necessary.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

I. General Items





## 1. To Biswanath Das<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi,  
December 29, 1948

My dear Biswanath Das,

I have received a copy of the notice for a question in the Constituent Assembly which you have sent. This relates to the pay, allowances, etc., of the Governor General.

I must say that I was sorry to see this. I do not know if it is going to be admitted by the Speaker or not. I hardly think it is a suitable question for the Assembly, and it is certainly not very courteous to our Governor General, to drag his domestic affairs into the Assembly. I would suggest to you that, quite apart from what the Speaker may decide, you might write to him withdrawing the question.

Such information as we can supply to you in regard to your question, we shall gladly do so privately.

As you must know, it has been decided to fix the Governor General's salary at Rs. 5,500/- per month free of income-tax. The various allowances are budget allocations and the unspent balances are paid back.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2(311)/48-PMS.

## 2. To M. Mohamed Ismail Khan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 30, 1948

Dear Mr. Mohamed Ismail,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 30th December. I am sorry my previous letter was addressed to the wrong person.

I have already stated that I entirely agree with the principles that children should be taught in their mother tongue during primary stage wherever sufficient number so desire it. As you yourself say, this is not merely a question of the language of religious minorities but also

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Mohamed Ismail Khan of Muslim League was a member of the Constituent Assembly at that time.

of what might be considered to be provincial minorities. I do not see however the necessity of adding to the Constitution in this and like matters.

About personal law, I do not think one wants to change the law for a particular community by the vote of other people. But any amendment of the kind you have mentioned would petrify progressive legislation. It would affect every group and community. It would make for instance the passage of the Hindu Code almost impossible. Hence it is bad from the point of view of adapting law to changing social conditions to petrify it in this way. As a matter of fact there are many instances of personal law having been affected in the past by legislation, although the general principle of adhering to the personal law was accepted and acted upon. So far as Muslims are concerned, I do not see why they should be alarmed at the prospect of any change which might affect them intimately. No such change is likely to be made unless they themselves desire it in particular.

As for religious instruction in State schools, any provision of the kind suggested might well lead to enormous difficulties because of the variety of religions and sects that our country possesses. Each sect would claim its particular brand of religion. It seems to me far better to give complete freedom of religious teaching, apart from the course in the State schools.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. Mysore Assembly to Consider Draft Resolution<sup>1</sup>

Shri Subramanya,<sup>2</sup> President of the Mysore Constituent Assembly, came to see me today and mentioned a certain difficulty which they are faced with

1. Note to V.P. Menon, 1 January 1949, Constituent Assembly of India, Constitution Section, File No. CA 28/Cons/49-VIII. Ministry of Law.
2. Talekere Subramanya (1896-1971); Congressman, member of Mysore Constituent Assembly, 1949-50; and of Mysore Legislative Assembly, 1950-52 and 1957-62; Minister for Development and Local Self-Government, 1958-62.



when the Mysore Constituent Assembly was meeting.<sup>3</sup> At the same time vital decisions affecting Mysore might be taken here by the Constituent Assembly. In fact this might make the Mysore Constituent Assembly *functus officio* and rather a farce.

There was some force in this argument. I understand that it is proposed that the Draft Resolution for our Constituent Assembly should be sent to Mysore for them to consider it and approve it. This is certainly desirable but it must be remembered that time is the essence of the business. It is quite essential that the present session of our C.A. should complete the second reading as soon as possible. It has been prolonged already and it is likely to go on till the end of the third week of September and possibly longer. In any event, it cannot be adjourned or postponed for a further meeting later. I say this because there was some talk of such adjournment to give time for consultations with the States. Any such adjournment would upset the whole time-table which we have framed for the third reading and for the meeting of Parliament, etc. It will also involve a large and additional expenditure of money at a time when we are bent on economizing in every possible way.

3. The Mysore Constituent Assembly was set up by the Maharaja on 29 October 1947 to frame a Constitution for the State. It passed a resolution recommending that the Constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly of the Indian Union be adopted by Mysore. This was effected on 25 November 1949.

#### 4. To Biswanath Das<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 4, 1949

My dear Biswanath Das,

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd January and for withdrawing your question regarding the Governor General's salary, etc.<sup>2</sup>

I am afraid my reply to various supplementary questions in the Assembly must have been misunderstood. Unfortunately the Speaker stopped

1. File No. 2 (311)/48-PMS.
2. Biswanath Das regretted that the purpose of his questions regarding pay and allowances of the Governor General had been misconstrued. He intended to show that "our Governor General really received one-third of what British Governor General was drawing." Rajagopalachari received only Rs. 7000 per month after deduction of income tax. (whereas the British Governor General received Rs. 2,50,000). From 1 January 1949 the salary of the Governor General was further reduced to Rs. 5,500 (free of income-tax).

the questions before I could explain what I had to say. I did not say that the salary of the Governor General was justified or necessary for maintaining the dignity of his office. In fact I said that this matter was being considered since the last G.G. went away. What I said was that the dignity of Government House had to be kept up and this House required a considerable expenditure on its mere upkeep.

I wrote<sup>3</sup> to you because I was given to understand that Rajaji had felt hurt at your question.

There has been a great deal of criticism<sup>4</sup> about various salaries and allowances, notably those of our ambassadors abroad. It is possible that some salaries here as well as abroad might be reduced. I certainly think that there is room for that in India. But it is a little difficult to touch individual salaries so long as a general system prevails and so long as old salaries of people who used to belong to the superior services are guaranteed by statute and by the Government's assurance last year. In regard to salaries to our foreign representatives, I doubt if there is much room for reduction. The salary as such is Rs. 3000/- or thereabouts. Allowances vary with the places. They have nothing to do with the individual who holds the office. We have gone into this matter fairly thoroughly and compared not only payments made by other countries to their foreign representatives but also domestic budget of our representatives abroad. The cost of living is very high abroad and for ambassadors specially it is higher than for others. It is difficult to explain this briefly. Most of our ambassadors as well as the other members of their staff have found it difficult to live even with the salaries and allowances they get. Indeed we have had requests from some of the members of the staff for their recall to India as the financial burden on them is too great abroad. The allowances to ambassadors are meant to cover entertainments which an ambassador is expected to give. These are essential parts of a diplomat's life and it is on these occasions that contacts are made and kept up.

You refer to the continuance of a State bakery, a dairy and a garden for the Governor General. A bakery and a dairy are not meant for the Governor General only but for the vast number of people living there. It would be no economy to deal with an outside bakery or dairy. Sometime back last year I found that about 5000 people live in Government House Estate. Of course all these people are not supplied with bread or milk from the bakery. But the number will give you some idea of the huge establishment.

3. See *ante*, item 1.

4. For example, K.G. Mashruwala wrote a scathing criticism in *Harijan* on 2 January 1949 on the pay of the Ministers and the Governor General.



As for the garden, it is one of the best gardens in Delhi or elsewhere and it would be a great pity to allow it to run to waste. A garden is either kept up well or not at all. There is no half-way stage. Government House gardens are like any public parks which are kept up for the public, apart from State receptions, etc.

We should not try to copy others or to waste money on needless display. Nevertheless it is interesting to compare our expenses here, both in our domestic State establishments and our foreign establishments, with what is done abroad. Our expenses are far less.

Our Delegation to the U.N. consisted in all of about 16 or 17 persons. We are trying to reduce even this number. The U.K. delegation in Paris consisted of 300 persons and I imagine that the U.S.A. delegation was bigger.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. The Resolution on Electoral Rolls<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I beg to move the following resolution:

Resolved that instructions be issued forthwith to the authorities concerned for the preparation of electoral rolls and for taking all necessary steps so that elections to the legislatures under the new Constitution may be held as early as possible in the year 1950.

Resolved further that the State electoral rolls be prepared on the basis of the provisions of the new Constitution already agreed to by this Assembly and in accordance with the principles hereinafter mentioned, namely:—

- (1) That no person shall be included in the electoral roll of any constituency.
  - (a) if he is not a citizen of India; or
  - (b) if he is of unsound mind and stands so declared by a competent court.

1. 8 January 1949, *Constituent Assembly Debates (Legislative) Official Report*, Vol. 1, 4 November-8 January 1948-49, pp. 1367-1375.



- (2) That 1st January 1949 shall be the date with reference to which the age of the electors is to be determined.
- (3) That a person shall not be qualified to be included in the electoral roll for any constituency unless he has resided in that constituency for a period of not less than 180 days in the year ending on the 31st March 1948. For the purposes of this paragraph, a person shall be deemed to be resident in any constituency if he ordinarily resides in that constituency or has a permanent place of residence therein.
- (4) That, subject to the law of the appropriate legislature, a person who has migrated into a Province or Acceding State on account of disturbances or fear of disturbances in his former place of residence shall be entitled to be included in the electoral roll of a constituency if he files a declaration of his intention to reside permanently in that constituency.

I do not wish to say much about this resolution except perhaps to clear a misapprehension.

A reference was made by some Honourable Member to the Government perhaps putting forward this resolution as a Government. Of course, Government as such has not moved this resolution and Government as such is not functioning in this Assembly. This resolution has come from the Steering Committee.<sup>2</sup> It is the responsibility of the Steering Committee. That Committee felt that they were proposing a resolution which, in effect, embodied a matter which has been already decided by the House and there was nothing novel or fresh in it; therefore they ventured to suggest that the Honourable Vice-President<sup>3</sup> might move it from the Chair. Whether that is a fact or not, I do not think we need go into that. It never occurred to the Steering Committee that there was anything novel in this resolution which might be objected to.

So far as the Government is concerned, the Government sometime back took steps to ask the Provincial Governments to get electoral rolls prepared. As a matter of fact, even if this resolution was not passed, the Government of course can proceed with the preparation of those rolls, but there will be this difficulty that in the event of the Constituent

2. Set up on 16 July 1947, the Steering Committee had as members, Vallabhbhai Patel, G. Durgabai, Satyanarain Sinha, S.H. Prater, Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, K.M. Munshi, P. Govinda Menon, Suresh Chandra Mazumdar, Sayyid Mohammad Saadullah, Abdul Kadar Mohammad Shaikh, Surendra Mohan Ghose, Jagat Narayan Lal, J.B. Kripalani, Gurmukh Singh Musafir, Chengalvaraya Reddy, Balwant Rai Mehta, R.M. Malavade and Diwan Chaman Lall, and C.S. Venkatachar.
3. H.C. Mukerjee.

Assembly at a later stage perhaps varying the qualifications or some thing, then all the electoral rolls that have been prepared or might be prepared might become useless. It was therefore desirable to have some indication of the wishes of the Constituent Assembly in this matter. In the last few days, this House has been considering the provisions in regard to elections. Having done that, therefore, this resolution merely embodies them.

Then some Honourable Members referred to the fact that only two qualifications, or disqualifications, are mentioned in clause (1). What this resolution says is that all that the Constituent Assembly has so far decided has to be taken into consideration. It is not considered necessary to say all that.

Then you will find in clause (3) a certain date given about residence—180 days in the year ending March 31st, 1948. That date was simply given there because some rolls have already been prepared on that basis and if this is not done they might become useless and one has to start afresh.

This is all I have to say, except to submit that in effect there is nothing new in this which the House has not decided. It may be there is some minor variation.

I heard—rather I think I heard—an objection that under clause (4) a large number of refugees and others might find it difficult to be enrolled. As a matter of fact, it is not intended to create any difficulty or any obstruction in the way, but surely some kind of intention has to be given; otherwise you cannot enrol everybody without knowing whether he wants to be here, whether he proposes to stay here, or not. It is for Provincial Governments to take steps to facilitate this process. Suppose a person who enrolls has not even have the intention to stay. Therefore it is proposed here that some kind of intention should be declared of permanent residence. You will see that clause was really meant to be in favour of the refugees because normally speaking you lay down some qualification of residence, etc., in a particular locality. Now, because many of the refugees who have come here may not be able to fulfil that qualification, therefore that clause was put in to facilitate their coming in. That clause, perhaps some people think, is an obstruction. That clause was put in because the residence clause does not apply to them. If the residence clause applies, then there is no difficulty. Since the residence clause does not apply in the case of recent comers, it becomes very difficult to enrol them unless there is some other fact to grip and that other fact to grip is that they declare their intention in future to reside. If there is no past and no future, the present slips away. One does not quite know whom to put in and whom not to put in. Therefore I submit that whatever is said in this resolution not only flows from what the House has decided, but naturally flows from it, and with all respect I really do say that there is nothing in this resolution which should raise any controversy. Sir, I move.



Algu Rai Shastri asked that as the citizenship clause was still held up how could there be any electoral rolls.

JN: These electoral rolls can be prepared and are going to be prepared. Whatever the future decision of the Assembly in regard to the citizenship clause might be, it will only affect the preparation to those rolls slightly. The citizenship clause does not affect the vast number of people in this country. It affects only two types of persons ultimately, (1) persons who may be called "refugees", and (2) Indians who reside outside India—which I say is more important. They are affected certainly. So far as the refugees are concerned, what I have just mentioned covers them, that is we accept as citizen anybody who calls himself a citizen of India. But there is difficulty in respect of people residing outside India. Since that matter is to be decided by the Assembly later, it is not a very difficult matter to arrange for them later on. They will come into the picture after we know what the decision of the Constituent Assembly is. It does not interfere with the work. Only a very small part of the work is delayed till you decide that. As soon as you decide that, effect will be given to it...

... Sir, I am very reluctant to appear again and again and speak repeatedly, and my only desire is to clear up any misunderstandings which may exist. In fact, I had no intention of moving this resolution at all. This is not in any sense an official resolution. I thought there was some misunderstanding about the Government coming into the picture and you desired that somebody should move it. Two or three points that have been raised, if I may say so, are due to some misunderstanding, because I really do not myself grasp the significance of those points. For instance, one of the points raised by Mr. Kamath is that only two disqualifications are mentioned and not others. If you will see the resolution, it says: "... the State electoral rolls be prepared on the basis of the provisions of the new Constitution ... agreed to by this Assembly ..." That is one thing and the other is "in accordance with the principle." That is all those mentioned in the Constitution are there; it is in addition to that something that is further mentioned. There are two things: if he is not a citizen of India and if he is of unsound mind. I will confess to the House frankly saying that "If he is not a citizen of India" is rather unnecessary. I mean to say, it is a fact the Constitution is based on that, and if it is left out it makes no difference. It is really to round off, I may say, and it makes no difference.

There was another point raised by Mr. Rohini Kumar Chaudhari<sup>4</sup> to

4. Rohini Kumar Chaudhari of Assam objected to the provision that persons of unsound mind 'so declared by a competent court' were not to be put on the electoral rolls, since it would mean that no one of unsound mind could be excluded till a lengthy and costly legal process had been gone through.



which he seemed to attach importance and that is about the unsound mind . . .

H.V. Kamath interrupted to seek a clarification.

JN: It is impossible to continue. We cannot have clarification of every word and every sentence. May I submit there should be a limit to the points of clarification that a certain honourable Member raises in ten minutes. I am asking the Chair. On a plea of clarification, explanation, the time of the House that is taken is extraordinary; I think it is really misusing the time of the House. I submit, Sir, that as regards Mr. Chaudhari's point, about the unsound mind, what the Assembly has passed is a certain disqualification, which include "any law made by the legislature . . . relating to non-residence, unsoundness of mind, crime or corrupt or illegal practice, etc." Now, it is obvious that an unsound man is normally considered unfit to exercise this privilege. But who is to determine it? The law. When the law is made, well and good. At the present moment we have no such law. What is stated here is this. If a competent court says so, that must be accepted. I do not quite follow Mr. Chaudhari's argument; it is not easy to hear from this side what a person says from the other side. From what I gather, is every person to go to a court for a declaration that a man is of unsound mind? I do not understand why anybody should go there at all. A few persons of unsound mind may get into the rolls. But many persons of unsound mind who are not declared to be of unsound mind come in and not only vote but do many other functions too. We cannot simply help it. What we want to guard against is this. A person should not be ruled out on account of some prejudice or wrong decision. There must be some guide to the enumerator. The decision of a court surely must be recognised by the man who has to prepare the electoral roll. For the rest, if a further law is passed by the Constituent Assembly, I should think that would be good. But it is quite impossible not to accept the decision of a court. It is not necessary, I submit, for you at this stage to say, 'subject to any other rule that may be made.' If this House passes any other rules, the enumerator will follow them. This is a preliminary electoral roll. You cannot go into too great specifications and detail. These rolls will, no doubt, be checked later on in accordance with the rules and laws passed by this Assembly or by the provincial Assemblies as the case may be. But, in the first instance, too many details cannot be gone into. You must remember that the man who is going to prepare them is an ordinary type of enumerator and he will have to go by his own lights which may not be very great. Afterwards they would be checked by the other people concerned. So that, first of all, the disqualifications mentioned in the Constitution as it is being passed will, of course, be given effect to. If you like, you may leave out "if he is not a citizen of India", because it is redundant. But the second thing is desirable because there is no test

of unsoundness. There may be a closer test."Anyhow, this is a wide enough test: that is, a competent court declares a man to be of unsound mind, we may accept that. If the court does not say so we may accept that he is sound or unsound. If we pass any further rules, they will be followed.

An honourable Member asked as to where the declaration as to intention to reside is to be filed. Obviously, before the registering authority. He has not to go to any court. He may declare before the enumerator who puts down his name. The fact is that we should try to make this as simple and as easy as possible for the party concerned. The easiest way is for the enumerator to be informed.

One point was raised by Mr. Chaudhari about people in the refugee camps.<sup>5</sup> It is a very valid point. I think some special provision should be made to permit them to vote. For the moment, suddenly, I cannot say what it should be. But I entirely agree, that is a valid point and special provision should be made. In fact, it was intended that they should vote. Nobody is going to reside permanently in a refugee camp. There is one important matter which might perhaps give rise to some misapprehension. In clause (4) it is said, "subject to the law of the appropriate legislature, a person who has migrated into a province, etc., etc." The words "subject to the law of the appropriate legislature" might create doubts and confusion. I should like, subject to the permission of the House, and you, Sir, permitting me to do so, to delete these words, "subject to the law of the appropriate legislature", and to say thus: "That notwithstanding anything in clause (3) a person who has migrated into a province, etc." It was the object of clause (4) that the residential qualification in clause (3) should not apply to the refugees. I think the clause should read: "(4) That, notwithstanding anything in clause (3), a person who has migrated into a Province or Acceding State, etc., etc." I think this makes it clear.

R.K. Sidhwa suggested that the word "permanently" in clause (4), line 6, may be removed.

JN: Intention to reside for six weeks or two weeks would not be enough. I can assure the House that this resolution is in nature of a directive. I would request the House to consider that this is not part of the Constitution. It is not a statute. The words need not be precisely looked upon from the point of view of a statute. These are general directions given to the Government which they will transmit to the enumerators, etc. As I said, even without this resolution, the Government can take those steps, of course subject to this House later on laying down any fresh qualifica-

5. Mentioning clause 4 according to which a person would be included in the electoral roll of a constituency, if he "files a declaration of his intention to reside permanently in that constituency" Rohini Kumar Chaudhari said that refugees in camps could not be expected to do so and so the word 'permanently' should be removed.



tions which might upset the rolls already prepared. I entirely agree that this question of camps should not come in the way of persons voting. But, if you leave out the word "permanently", then you make it too loose. Any person can say, 'I intend to reside there meaning thereby that he intends to reside there for the next two weeks. That would make a farce of the whole thing. The idea is, nobody can guarantee what he is going to do for the rest of his life; but the intention should be more or less to reside permanently in that areas.

Bikramlal Sondhi suggested that, it may be stated, "to reside permanently in the Indian Union," as one may go from one camp to another.

JN: Those in the camps should be specially dealt with. I can give an assurance to the House that this residential clause will not come in their way.

Bikramlal Sondhi enquired if the word "permanently" could be removed.

JN: You may leave out the word "permanently" from the point of view of the men in the camps; that does not apply to them. A way will have to be found out for them. If you leave out the word "permanently" in the case of those who are elsewhere, not in the camps, vague migrants also may come in. That is a clause in favour of the refugees.

Bikramlal Sondhi asked whether any stamp would be required for the declaration.

JN: The House will have to decide that. We want to facilitate this process and not to make it difficult by requiring stamps, etc. So far as I can say straight off, I do not think any stamp will be necessary. I do not see why that is necessary. No stamps are necessary. To facilitate this, we shall inform the Provincial Governments that this will be free.

S. Nagappa suggested that since illiteracy was high, the declaration should be oral.

JN: I am sure the House wants that this process should be facilitated and obstructions should not be put in the way in the nature of stamps, fees, etc. We propose to issue such directions to the Provincial Governments. It is difficult to go into the details at this moment. I understand that instructions have been issued that there should be no fees or stamps for this.

Lakshmi Kanta Maitra said that the word "constituency" should be deleted.

JN: I am prepared to accept the word "area" for the word "constituency"

One word more about the introduction of the words "unsound mind". That was taken from the present Government of India Act that is functioning now. In the Sixth Schedule of the Government of India Act it says:

No person shall be included in the electoral rolls for, or vote at any election in any territorial constituency if he is of unsound mind and stands so declared by a competent court.



## 6. The Indian Emigration (Amendment) Bill<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I beg to move:

‘That the Bill further to amend the Indian Emigration Act, 1922,<sup>2</sup> be taken into consideration.’

This Act originally dealt with what used to be called British India. Thereafter the words “British India” were changed and gave place to “the Provinces of India.” Now the words “Provinces of India” are not sufficient because of the acceding States and there are a number of ports in these maritime States—Okha, Cochin and a number of others—and it has become necessary that the benefits conferred by this Bill on emigrants be extended to the emigrants proceeding through those ports.

The Bill is a very short one proposing to change the language. Section I is amended to read “It extends to the whole of India.” There is a consequential change in section 31 and in other sections for the words the “Provinces” wherever they occur the word “India” is to be substituted.

H.V. Kamath said that immigration by air should also come under strict control. He wanted the old Emigration Act to be replaced by a new comprehensive measure.

JN: Well, Sir, I confess that my limited mind and vision had not given thought to the wide vistas which my honourable friend has pointed out that arise from this Bill. This Bill simply seeks to get in all the States and put them on par with the rest of India in regard to emigration. When this Act was originally passed in 1922 it was meant for the protection of emigrants because a large number of people wanted to exploit emigrants by making promises to them or otherwise inducing them to go abroad. They made some money, I suppose, from the people who wanted skilled or unskilled workers. So the Act was meant to protect these workers. It was not to prevent people from going, but to protect emigrants who were going out in large numbers, normally for work, outside India. That was the object of it. Now Mr. Kamath has brought in all manner of other considerations of people going to Pakistan carrying gold and silver and other things. Those points may be considered in their proper context, but they have nothing to do with this Bill at all. Nor does air travel come into the picture. No emigrant of that type goes by air.

1. 7 February 1949. *Constituent Assembly Debates, (Legislative) Official Report*, Vol. I, Part II, 1949, 1st-23rd February 1949, pp. 258-260.

2. The object of the Indian Emigration Act was to protect Indian labourer from exploitation by agents who often bound them to severe working conditions and low pay in foreign countries.

I agree with Mr. Kamath that it may be desirable for us to recast the whole emigration law some time or other. In fact the time has come when it is difficult to encourage or even to accept the fact of Indian labour or emigrants going abroad, because they are not received with open arms or treated well outside. Therefore we should not encourage this thing. This Bill was not intended to encourage but to discourage it. As I suppose sometimes we are forced to do that. But I hope the time may come soon when there will be free movement between countries. We have had enough of passports, visas, police and other officers functioning, and it is becoming almost impossible for people to move about from one place to another. The wrong kind of persons always manage to go. It is the right kind of person who is troubled by all these restrictions and the like. I hope honourable Members will remember, perhaps Mr. Kamath is too young to know, that there were no visas and passports necessary previously. It is only about thirty years ago or a little more that they came in. I hope that time will come again. Anyhow, so far as this Bill is concerned I submit that all these points do not arise.

H.V. Kamath asked if a visa or passport was necessary when Nehru first went to England.

JN: None.

JN: Sir, I move:

"That the Bill be passed."<sup>3</sup>





CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES

II. Hindu Code Bill



## 1. To B.R. Ambedkar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 4, 1949

My dear Ambedkar,

A large number of representatives of the All India Women's Conference have been coming to me about the Hindu Code Bill.<sup>2</sup> No doubt, they have seen you also. They are anxious that some further step forward should be taken in this during this Session. As you know, I am in entire sympathy with them, but I do not know exactly what can be done in this Session. It is manifestly not feasible to deal with the Bill completely during this Session. It is likely to take several weeks. Some people say that a special session might be necessary for it. But it would be a good thing if the Bill was considered in general discussion during this Session, if this is possible. I suppose much would depend on the progress of other work.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. The Hindu Code Bill, drafted in 1947 and discussed in the Constituent Assembly in 1948 and 1949, was postponed in 1951 because of stiff opposition. It was finally passed in the form of Hindu Marriage Act in 1955 and the Hindu Succession Act, the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act and the Hindu Adoptions and Maintenance Act in 1956.

## 2. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 10, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

I enclose a printed paper<sup>2</sup> which has been circulated to members of the Assembly. I do not know if the opinion reported to have been given by you on the Hindu Code Bill is correctly given.<sup>3</sup> It is unfortunate that your name should be dragged in into this business.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Copies of a printed appeal brought out by the All India Anti-Hindu Code Committee in the name of C. Rajagopalachari were sent by post to the Members of Parliament. It severely criticised the provisions of the Hindu Code Bill.
3. Rajagopalachari denied having issued any such statement. On 12 February 1949, the Congress Party issued a press statement that the document claiming to express the views of Rajagopalachari was totally false. On this, the Anti-Hindu Code Committee issued a statement saying that signatory to the printed appeal was not the Governor General but a lawyer named C.R. Rajagopalachari.



### 3. The Hindu Code Bill<sup>1</sup>

I am informed that there are ten motions<sup>2</sup> by private members on the Hindu Code Bill. All these are in the nature of instructive proposals which will involve delay in the consideration of the main proposal. It is unfortunate that the Speaker will probably be away on that day. I have written to him on the subject.

2. It seems to me that these ten proposals (or rather eight leaving out Mr. Naziruddin Ahmad's proposals)<sup>3</sup> are opposed to the decision arrived at by the Party. The present position is that the motion for consideration should be made and should pass. The further consideration of the Bill will be taken up later and the fullest latitude will be allowed then to all Members. All the points made in these various motions for postponement etc. can be raised in discussing the main proposal, and there is no point in repeating them except to delay and take up time. I have no desire to cut short discussion on this important issue, but I do think that purely delaying tactics should not be encouraged.

3. In view of the decision of the Party already arrived at I do not myself see how these motions can be made. It might be desirable to hold a meeting of the Executive of the Party to consider this matter.

1. Note to Chief Whip of Congress Party, 22 February 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. The motions introduced on 24 February 1949 were of three different types. Some proposed that the Bill be further circulated to elicit public opinion; others suggested that the matter should be referred to a new Select Committee and the third group wanted to refer the Bill again to the Select Committee which had already submitted its report.

3. Naziruddin Ahmad (M.P., West Bengal) wanted the Bill referred back to the same Select Committee.

10

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

I. Concerning the States





I. ASSAM

1. To Gopinath Bardoloi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 7, 1949

My dear Bardoloi,

I want to repeat in this letter what I have already told you in the course of conversation.

We appreciate entirely the difficulties you have to face in Assam and we want to help you in every way that we can. We agree also that Assam deserves, because of a variety of reasons,<sup>2</sup> somewhat special treatment and that it should not be dealt with in exactly the same way as other provinces.

I have pointed out to you the extreme gravity of the economic situation in India. We have to strain every nerve to meet the situation and more especially to produce a balanced budget in March next. Such a budget as well as such measures that we are taking will, we hope, produce a definite change for the better.

We can then go ahead with greater confidence and fuller resources to implement some of our projects which for the moment might have to be postponed. It is quite possible that in the course of this year, say about the middle of it or a little later, we might reconsider the problem of helping provincial projects, even though the next budget may not have included them. In such an event, Assam will naturally be given every consideration.

Thus the position is, firstly, that we wish to give the greatest possible consideration to Assam even at present and secondly, that we are prepared to reconsider the matter later in the year having regard to the then existing economic situation.

I hope you and your colleagues will appreciate our goodwill to Assam and our desire to help your province in every way.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(31)/48-PMS;

2. Agitation was sparked off in Assam by the continuous stream of immigration which increased after partition and by economic stagnation.

## 2. To Gopinath Bardoloi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 10, 1949

My dear Bardoloi,

We have been giving earnest and continuous thought to the question of the next Governor of Assam. I have more specially consulted Rajaji and Sardar Patel and have had several talks with them on this subject. We have considered all kinds of possible names. Normally it does not matter very much who is the Governor except that he must be good enough to perform his usual functions with ability and dignity. In Assam the position is different and we want a rather special type of ability to deal with the multitude of difficult problems which you have to face not only in the province itself but in the States nearby, especially Manipur which is a particular charge of the Governor. Then there is the Communist problem as well as various border problems including the wild tribes of the frontier.

We think that it would be doing you an ill-service to send someone who will not be of much help to you and who may not be able to deal satisfactorily with these problems. It is more important that the man we send is fully competent and helpful to you than that we should send someone who is vaguely popular, but is otherwise unhelpful.

As a result of this consideration, Rajaji, Sardar Patel and I have come to the conclusion that the best choice we can make is of Ramaswami Mudaliar. I know that some people do not approve of this appointment. You have yourself written to me about this. It will not be a popular appointment in the ordinary sense of the word, but having regard to all the circumstances, it is the best that we can think of for Assam.

About Ramaswami Mudaliar's ability and tact there is no question. As you know he has been functioning in various committees of the United Nations with great success. He is thought of highly in the United States as well as elsewhere in the United Nations circles. Recently we sent him to present our case in the Hyderabad matter in Paris.<sup>2</sup> He has carried out all the assignments with ability and in accordance with our directions.

It is true that in the past he was anti-Congress, very much so. There are also some other allegations about him, about which I have no proof. Rajaji tells me that he does not believe in these allegations.

About being anti-Congress in the past, we are functioning today with so many people who were working against the Congress. Most of the people in our service functioned thus. We have even taken members in our Cabinet

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Ramaswami Mudaliar had represented India's case in Hyderabad at the sessions of the United Nations held in Paris from September to December 1948.



here, who functioned against us in the past. I do not think we can make that a bar where other considerations point to a person.

We have come to the conclusion, therefore, that we should choose Ramaswami Mudaliar for this post.<sup>3</sup> I am sure you will find him exceedingly cooperative and tactful and he will get on well with your ministry. He will give you a great deal of help without interfering in anything. In regard to the border State and tribal problems, he should be particularly helpful.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. In the event, Sri Prakasa, Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan, was appointed and took charge on 16 February 1949. See *post*, item 4.

### 3. To Rafi Ahmed Kidwai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 11, 1949

My dear Rafi,

As you spoke to me about the Governorship of Assam, I want to tell you that we have been giving the most earnest thought to this matter. I have consulted a number of persons, but in the main three of us, namely, Rajaji, Sardar Patel and I, have conferred in this matter repeatedly and we have considered a variety of names. While some might have been suitable in other provinces, Assam presented a combination of difficult problems. There is the problem of the States and the Governor is the Government of India's representative in the States. One of these States, Manipur, is giving us a lot of trouble. The tribal areas are also difficult to handle, more especially some of the border tracts far removed from normal communications. The Burma frontier is giving trouble. Internally, in Assam province there have also been considerable difficulties. Then there is the Pakistan-Assam border, which has presented us with a succession of problems. In view of all this, we have felt that an experienced administrator with a good deal of tact and ability was necessary. We have come to the conclusion that Ramaswami Mudaliar should be appointed.

I know that he is unpopular and that some allegations are made against him. I have no means of checking these allegations and so I referred to Rajaji, who is well acquainted with the South Indian people and their background. Rajaji told me that he did not believe in these allegations and he recommended Ramaswami Mudaliar's name with considerable confidence for this particular post.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.



#### 4. To Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
26 January 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am feeling your absence from Delhi<sup>2</sup> at this stage when a number of problems are pressing for solution and I would like to consult you about them. We have got so used to consultations that any long absence produces a gap which troubles me.

I shall not trouble you about these matters —there is the Asian Conference, and several diplomatic appointments to be considered, and the horrible racial riots in Durban at this stage. The Asian Conference will be over by the time you come. One result of our convening it has been to push the Security Council some considerable distance and they are going to propose a resolution which, though not entirely satisfactory from our point of view, still is on the whole favourable to the Indonesians.

Then there is the Kashmir ceasefire etc. Already there are conflicts showing their heads. Now that our aides-memoire have been published, there will be controversy, more especially about the disarming and disbanding of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces, we cannot possibly give up or weaken on this point.

But one matter I want to write to you about as it is giving me a bad headache. This is the Governorship of Assam.<sup>3</sup> I owe you an apology for this for we have already discussed it several times. I am unable to get over a feeling that Ramaswami Mudaliar's appointment will be unfortunate. Rafi, as you know, has been protesting, but it is not that that matters so much to me. Gopalaswami, who was not present at the Cabinet meeting when we discussed this, is also strongly opposed to it. I casually mentioned it to Katju and he reacted in a similar way. There is little doubt that this kind of reaction is widespread. K.P.S. Menon, who was associated with Mudaliar abroad on some occasions and who observed what happened there, feels very keenly about it.<sup>4</sup> It is none of his business to speak to me about it and I have of course not discussed it with him. But in quite another connection, and in view of newspaper reports, he could not just help giving out how he felt.

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence, 1945-50*, Vol. 8, pp. 102-104.

2. Vallabhbhai Patel was on a visit to Rajasthan and Gujarat.

3. The vacancy arose on the death of Sir Akbar Hydari.

4. K.P.S. Menon had been chief adviser of the Indian Delegation to the San Francisco Conference in 1945. Mudaliar was a member of the delegation.

All this may be put aside if we were convinced of the rightness of the appointment. We could and should face the public reaction if, in our view, we had done the correct thing. It is here really that my headache comes in. In view of the various allegations made and stories circulated and the rather aggressive anti-Congress record of Mudaliar, his appointment becomes significant. Whether those allegations are true or not is almost beside the point. There is widespread talk of them and belief in them and our choosing him in spite of all this for a spectacular appointment means either that we have gone into this matter carefully and found all charges and stories without foundation, or that we do not attach importance to charges of lack of personal integrity, apart from a very strong anti-Congress bias. In the atmosphere of today this might also lower Congress prestige greatly or at any rate our Government's prestige. This is a serious matter and it is this that is troubling me.

I have had a talk with Rajaji and he told me what you said to him and showed me your letter to him.<sup>5</sup> I appreciate what you say but the wider implications to which I have referred above appear to me to deserve very careful consideration. The least that can be said is that Mudaliar's appointment will not be a safe appointment from this point of view. I should like you to consider all this. Meanwhile I am taking no further step.

As for alternatives, I suggested to Rajaji the name of Sri Prakasa. It is a good name and I know that Prakasa is rather worn out by his year and a half in Karachi. He would like to be released from there and have a change. I have not of course mentioned this to him.

In the event of Sri Prakasa leaving Karachi it might be possible to induce Prafulla Ghose to go there. I am not sure that he will agree but he might do so.<sup>6</sup> I think he would fit in there well.

I shall be grateful if you will wire or write to me—or we can wait till you come back. The delay is unfortunate but I suppose it will not matter much. I am anxious to avoid a wrong step.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

5. In his letter of 13 January 1949, Patel had said Mudaliar was the best and indeed the only choice for the Government, as he was one in whose administrative ability at least he had the fullest confidence.

6. In fact Sir Sita Ram, and not Ghosh, succeeded Sri Prakasa in Karachi.



## 5. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
31 January 1949

My dear Prakasa,

I presume you will be coming here soon after bidding goodbye to Karachi. I hope you will stay with me during your brief stay in Delhi. That will give me some opportunity of having talks with you. I think you should stay here atleast three days. Apart from talks with us, you should look through some of the Assam files and meet some people in the Secretariat who are dealing with Assam matters.

The problems before the Governor of Assam may be listed as follows :

1. Normally functioning as constitutional Governor, advising the Cabinet and generally keeping in touch with events. The Governor should not of course overrule the Cabinet in any matter. But while there is plenty of scope for advice and even earnest advice, ultimately the Cabinet's will must prevail. Our Governors have functioned in two ways. Some of them keep rather aloof from the administrative apparatus and are formal and social heads. Others almost function as informal members of the Cabinet, looking into every aspect of administration and helping in every way, without appearing to interfere at all. In Assam and East Punjab, unlike other provinces, the Governor has been presiding over Cabinet meetings, whenever he has been present. He did so of course with the approval of the Cabinet, because they wanted his help. The Premier or his Cabinet could have at any time asked him not to do so. But they preferred to have him.

Hydari in Assam did a good job of work and with his administrative experience, helped greatly the ministry which lacked experience.

I think you should tell Bardoloi right at the beginning that you are there to help him in every way without interfering. If he wants you to attend Cabinet meetings, you will do so, otherwise not. Or you may attend specially when invited and not usually.

In any event you should keep in intimate touch with Cabinet proceedings and the activities of the various ministers. How you should do so should be settled between you and Bardoloi. Bardoloi should not feel that you are going over his head to any minister. Normally your dealings should be with the Premier, but it is desirable, if the Premier agrees, for you to have an interview with each minister separately from time to time, just to discuss his particular ministry and problems.

1. J.N. Collection.



As Governor you will be supposed to write a fortnightly letter to the Governor General giving a review of the province and specially mentioning particular matters which you consider important. A copy of this should be sent to me and to your Premier. This review will be an informal one and is supposed to contain your personal reactions.

In addition to this, you can always write a private letter either to the Governor General or to me on any particular point.

Assam is not only a border province to Pakistan, but has also the largest proportion of Muslims of any province of India.<sup>2</sup> This raises special problems and there has been a tendency for both Hindus and Muslims to migrate to Assam from East Bengal. This is an old tendency, because Assam is somewhat underpopulated. The Assamese do not like it at all.

Bardoloi, the Premier, is a good man, but he does not keep good health and is apt to become nervous and excited occasionally. He requires someone to strengthen him and to give him a feeling of confidence. You must therefore adopt a confident pose and not appear as if you doubted your own ability to deal with any problem.

2. Then there are the tribal areas with which the Governor is specially connected. The tribes vary from head-hunters to more or less civilized folk. These present a variety of problems. The latter have to be dealt with politically and Bardoloi and his Ministers know them well. The head-hunter lot and their like are near the Burma or China border and occasionally military expeditions on a small scale have had to be sent to them. There is a special Assam Force to deal with these areas. This will bring you in touch with our Defence Ministry.

3. There are some States, notably Manipur, and the Governor is the representative of the States Ministry in regard to these States. Manipur offers a Communist problem.

4. Assam is a frontier province with a frontier with Burma and another with China and we have to keep wide awake. Some of the Assam people are afraid of Communists infiltrating from Burma. My own information is that there is no justification for this fear, although our Intelligence is apprehensive. The change in China also makes it necessary for us to be watchful on the frontiers. I do not think anything remarkable is going to happen.

I have indicated above the types of problems you will have to deal with. You will have to tour a fair amount both in the province proper and in the tribal areas and States. To begin with, naturally, you should stick to

2. According to the 1941 Census, Assam had over three and a half million Muslims, nearly four and a half million Hindus and two and a half million tribals. After partition the number of Muslims was, 1,710,423, that of Hindus, 2,947,989, Christians, 35,724 and Sikhs, 3,742.

Shillong and get a grip of the administration in its various aspects. Then you can make brief tours. In dealing with tribal folk as well as the States, you have of course to be courteous and affable but also firm.

You may have some contacts occasionally with Bhutan or Sikkim. Our representative for Bhutan, Sikkim and Tibet is Harishwar Dayal,<sup>3</sup> a very competent person, who resides at Gangtok.

The Governor's life may be a very busy one or not. That depends upon the individual. There is plenty to be done and there is always the social aspect which must be kept up. But in spite of the work, you will have more leisure than you have had at Karachi and you can read. Assam is rather a fascinating province, as all areas are which are capable of great development. The climate is pleasant.

There are of course the tea plantations in Assam, chiefly owned by Englishmen and Scotchmen. They offer another type of problem.

Bardoloi has been greatly agitated because we have cut down, in common with other provinces, the development grants for Assam. This was necessitated by the financial situation, as we must have a balanced Budget. But as a matter of fact we have told him that we shall show special favour to Assam and help it to the best of our ability. There is no need for him to get excited. Even after the next Budget is passed, we can review the situations and perhaps make a further allocation.

We have not decided about your successor yet. When you leave, you will hand over charge to Kripalani<sup>4</sup> who will function as Charge.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. (1915-1964). Joined I.C.S. 1937; in foreign service from 1944; Political Officer in Sikkim, 1948-52 and later Ambassador to Nepal.

4. S.K. Kripalani.

## II. BIHAR

1. To Clifford Agarwala<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 7, 1949

Dear Chief Justice,<sup>2</sup>

I have received an unsigned letter dated 27th December which presumably you have sent me.

I have no personal objection to what you said in your inaugural address to the Conference of Judicial Officers of Bihar.<sup>3</sup> In view, however, of an unfortunate tension that was prevailing between the High Court and the Government of Bihar<sup>4</sup>, it might have been advisable not to say anything which adds to that tension.

I learn from the Premier of Bihar that he has had a frank talk with you and that the various points of difference have been resolved.<sup>5</sup> I am happy to know this. Nothing can be more unfortunate than a public display of differences of opinion between the Government and the High Court. Even when there is such a difference, as there may well be, the matter should be dealt with on a confidential level and no reference of any kind should be made in public.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Clifford Manmohan Agarwala (1890-1972); called to the Bar in 1911; appointed a Judge of the Patna High Court in July 1932; Chief Justice of Patna High Court, 1946-50.

3. C.M. Agarwala, in his inaugural address on 5 December 1948 in Patna, criticised the framers of the draft Constitution of India for not insisting upon the immediate separation of judicial and executive functions. He also criticized the Bihar Government for shelving the scheme for separation of the judiciary and the executive.

4. The tension had been caused by the censure of the Chief Justice of Patna High Court, of the Government legislation, making the lower judiciary open to pressure from executive authorities. An official facing prosecution for bribery and smuggling had been let off by the District Magistrate following intervention by a member of the Assembly.

5. Sri Krishna Sinha promised that suitable disciplinary action would be taken against those magistrates who were found at fault. The Provincial Government also agreed that a general order could be issued by the High Court, requiring all magistrates to report to the High Court all the cases of interference by non-officials.



## 2. To Sri Krishna Sinha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 7, 1949

My dear Sri Babu,

Thank you for your letter of 4th January regarding the letter of the Chief Justice of India, which I sent you.

I am glad that you have had a frank talk with your Chief Justice and that any differences of opinion have been satisfactorily resolved.<sup>2</sup> It was a matter of deep regret to us that there should be public criticism of each other as between the Bihar Government and the High Court.<sup>3</sup> If at any time there is a difference of opinion, as there may well be, on no account must the matter be aired in public by either side.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. See previous item.
3. Differences over the division of power between the judiciary and the executive authorities of Bihar had been reported in the local newspapers.

## 3. To Sri Krishna Sinha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 16, 1949

My dear Sri Babu,

I wrote to you once about what was called the molasses scandal in Bihar<sup>2</sup> and I believe you sent me some answer. For the moment I do not remember what your answer was. This question has been raised again and I have to deal with it. Will you please let me know whether there was an inquiry into this and if so, what the result of the inquiry was. If there was no inquiry, why was this avoided when public charges were being made?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. It was alleged that in Bihar many permits had been issued by the Excise Commissioner, between December 1946 and April 1947, for the purchase of molasses to Congressmen or their relatives on the recommendation of Congress Party or those with close connections with Bihar Government.

## III. BOMBAY

1. To B.G. Kher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 16, 1949

My dear Kher,

I quote from a letter received by me from a prominent Bombay businessman<sup>2</sup> :

"I do not know if your attention has been drawn to a recent criminal case in Bombay against Mr. Dahyabhai Patel. The case was compounded a few days ago by Mr. Dahyabhai Patel refunding Rs. 42,000/- which was alleged to have been given to him for procurement of some import licence.<sup>3</sup> The notorious molasses scandal in Bihar surely cannot have escaped your notice.<sup>4</sup> The severe strictures passed recently by the Bombay High Court on the working of the Requisition Department of the Government of Bombay<sup>5</sup> also point to the extent to which corruption has spread over various Government Departments. The scandalous conduct of some of the officers in the Income-tax Department, which once used to be whispered, is now openly talked about in Bombay."

I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know what the facts are about these matters, so that I can reply to the letter I have received. You need not deal with the Bihar molasses affair.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. K.L. Kripalani, partner of an export-import firm in Bombay.

3. A legal notice was issued in connection with breach of trust in respect of Rs. 43,750 against Dahyabhai, son of Vallabhbhai Patel. The notice was dismissed as Dahyabhai had returned the money to the complainant.

4. See preceding item, fn. 2.

5. Some officers of the Requisition Department were accused of callous conduct and corruption while evicting persons unauthorisedly occupying certain premises in favour of other applicants.

2. To B.G. Kher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
30 January 1949

My dear Kher,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th January.<sup>2</sup>

It is for you to judge what steps, if any, should be taken in regard to any charges involving corruption. All I can say is that we must be very strict and not allow anything to pass unnoticed which savours of corruption.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. In reply to Nehru's letter of 16 January, Kher wrote that only an enquiry into the allegations made by the complainant could determine how far they were true. Regarding the criticisms against the Requisitioning Organisation of the Bombay Government, the High Court had passed strictures against the officers but Kher was satisfied that they had no corrupt motives. He had, however, taken steps to restrict the scope of the activities of the Organisation.



## IV. PUNJAB

1. To Gopichand Bhargava<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
21 December 1948

My dear Gopichandji,

Thank you for your letter of December 20th about the affairs in Buria.<sup>2</sup> I am very glad to find that the efforts of your Government and your Deputy Commissioner are bearing fruit and that the problem of Muslims in Buria will soon be solved.

I do not know who the members are of the goodwill mission.<sup>3</sup> I was under the impression that Acharya Vinoba Bhave had sent some of his workers there. These people are hardly likely to be the kind wanting jobs. Anyhow if the problem is solved, no necessity remains for any such missions or their like.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(51)/48-PMS.
2. Bhargava wrote that Muslims of Buria were regaining confidence in his administration "which had already taken measures to resettle them at Buria before long." For the problems of Buria see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 8, p. 134.

2. To Chandulal Trivedi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 22, 1948

My dear Chandulal Trivedi,

Thank you for your two letters of the 21st December.<sup>2</sup>

About Buria, it is for you and your Premier to decide what should be done about Ashwini Kumar<sup>3</sup> and Sunder Singh.<sup>4</sup> If you think that they should remain where they are, there the matter ends.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. In his letter to Nehru, Trivedi enclosed his letter to the Premier of Punjab, Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, saying that he would immediately cease attending the Cabinet meetings and withdraw from the various sub-committees if there was slightest objection on the Premier's part. Trivedi clarified that he acted only as an adviser or a mediator at Cabinet meetings.
3. Superintendent of Police, Ambala.
4. District Magistrate, Jagadhri.

I had not myself seen the extracts from the *Statesman* that you have sent.<sup>5</sup> I can understand that this must have irritated you. In the past it certainly was our wish that Governor should not preside over Cabinet meetings. But conditions are different now. As a matter of principle, it would be better for Governors to keep away. In the East Punjab, however, I feel sure that your presence at Cabinet meetings has been and will continue to be helpful. I would therefore like you to be there. But in this matter it is difficult for us to insist on something which your Premier and Ministers may not like. If Dr. Gopichand asks me, I would certainly advise him to invite you to preside over Cabinet meetings.

I am sending a copy of your letter to Dr. Gopichand to Sardar Patel.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The *Statesman* reported on 16 December 1948 that the Governor still presided over the Cabinet and referred to a communication received from many members of the Congress Assembly Party that Secretaries were in the habit of taking files direct to the Governor and discussing them with him before submitting them to the Ministers.

### 3. To Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
22 December 1948

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a copy of a letter which the Governor of the East Punjab has sent to Dr. Gopichand.<sup>2</sup> Trivedi has sent this to me.

As a general principle Governors should not preside over Cabinet meetings. But I am sure that in East Punjab the Governor's presence has been helpful and will continue to be so. I hope therefore that Dr. Gopichand and his colleagues will invite him to come and preside.<sup>3</sup> Obviously, in such a matter any practice followed should be by consent of the parties concerned.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence, 1945-50*, Vol. 6, p. 225.

2. See preceding item, fn. 2.

3. Vallabhbhai Patel replied that the Congress had always opposed the practice of the Governor presiding over Cabinet meetings, and in East Punjab, the Governor by becoming too closely associated with the Government had invited public criticism, while the Ministry was criticized for being dominated by the Governor.

**4. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
December 31, 1948

My dear Rajaji,

Your Private Secretary has again made a reference to us about Sardar Surjit Singh Majithia's request to you to preside over the Amritsar Khalsa College<sup>2</sup> Golden Jubilee. You will remember that this request was made some months ago and at that time you excused yourself.

While there is no particular objection to your going there, conditions in East Punjab, and specially the Sikh politics,<sup>3</sup> are rather difficult at the present moment and one does not know what may happen in the near future. I think it would be better for you not to tie yourself up with any acceptance of this kind at this moment. Perhaps you could say that you find it difficult to go there or to make any promise at the present moment. They can have their jubilee celebration and sometime later it may be possible for you to visit the Khalsa College, but you could make no definite engagement at the present moment.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. The Amritsar Khalsa College was established in 1899 to impart higher education to Sikh youths "that will tend to raise the status of the Sikh people and to maintain the Sikh religion." Non-Sikhs however, could also secure admission.
3. See section 11, sub-section III, item no. 1, fn. 4.

**5. To Gopichand Bhargava<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
February 4, 1949

My dear Gopichandji,

I shall be glad if you will let me know what, if any, arrangements have been arrived at about reservations in the services for different communities in East Punjab. I am told that it is proposed to reserve places as follows:

For Sikhs.....	40%
For Hindus and all others .....	40%
On merit .....	20%

1. J.N. Collection.



This seems rather an odd division. If people in the East Punjab accept this division, we have nothing further to say. But this practically means a 50:50 division between Sikhs on the one side and all others on the other, although Sikhs are about thirty per cent.

Where do the Sikh depressed classes or Mazhabi Sikhs<sup>2</sup> come in? It is curious to say, provided it is so said, that 20% will go on merit. Is it that the others will not be appointed on merit? Any such assumption would be very harmful. The tone of our administration in many places has gone down very greatly and we dare not take any risks in regard to merit. In the lower grades of the service, no special question of merit arises as many people have the same qualifications. But in the higher grades merit and suitability are very important and should not be sacrificed for communal considerations.

I should like to know how the question of your capital now stands? The matter seems to progress very slowly.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The converts from Hindu 'untouchable' castes to Sikhism.

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ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

II. Buildings in Delhi





## 1. Accommodation for the U.S. Embassy<sup>1</sup>

I had a long interview with the American Ambassador<sup>2</sup> last night. In the course of this interview he laid stress on the great difficulties they were experiencing in regard to accommodation. They were anxious and eager to develop contacts with India in every possible way and therefore they were getting a number of officials to deal with different problems. The present accommodation was totally insufficient. I have also received a message from the State Department from Washington on this subject.

For political and other reasons we should like to give facilities to the American Embassy. This will be to our advantage. I suggest, therefore, that this question of accommodation for the American Embassy, etc. should be taken in hand immediately. Sometime ago we heard that Bahawalpur House was being purchased by the American Embassy. I do not know who was selling it and on what terms. Last night the American Ambassador informed me that various difficulties had cropped up and the terms offered to him were such that it is quite impossible for the American Congress to pass them. He is at present in occupation of Bahawalpur House on lease. So long as they do not purchase it they cannot make any alterations or additions. If he was owner of the house he would immediately have some additional buildings put up as well as make internal alterations. I should like to know what the position is in regard to Bahawalpur House and what terms it offered to the American Embassy. Also on what terms they have rented it now.

I should also like to know how far the project for a diplomatic colony in New Delhi has proceeded. In view of the tremendous demand for housing by various Embassies, it is important that this project of a colony be proceeded with immediately. This should not take much time. I take it that all that is necessary is to level the ground, demarcate roads etc. and divide it up into suitable plots. Those plots can then be offered to the Embassies that want them and they can take steps for building. So far as the Americans are concerned they would probably get a part of the building material from America as they are anxious to go ahead soon.

The American Ambassador pointed out to me that the present houses in Delhi were totally unsuited to modern conditions, since they were built in the spacious way with outhouses as servants quarters etc. They were meant for a large number of servants to be attached to each house.

1. Note to Ministry of Works, Mines and Power, 8 January 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. Loy Henderson.

In other countries where servants are not easily available more compact houses are built and there are no servants quarters and the like. The rooms are smaller, the ceilings are lower but provision is made for cooling or heating the rooms and there are other gadgets provided thus doing away with the necessity for many servants. He said that it was his intention to build houses of this type for the Embassy's use.

I think that the Ambassador's suggestion is a good one and we shall have to think afresh about our building programmes in Delhi on that basis. The servant problem has become very difficult already in Delhi and with reduced salaries of officials and higher salaries of servants it will not be possible at all for any person to keep more than perhaps one or two servants as is the case in other countries. Therefore, houses should be fashioned accordingly.

I should be grateful if I am informed about any projects for building houses in New Delhi. What I am most anxious about is to expedite the setting out of the diplomatic area.

## 2. To N.V. Gadgil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
8 January 1949

My dear Gadgil,

I am enclosing a note for your Ministry.<sup>2</sup> I should like quick action to be taken about Bahawalpur House specially. The matter has some political importance in view of present circumstances. Please also let me know about the diplomatic colony.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See previous item.

3. The American Embassy could not purchase Bahawalpur House and shifted first to Curzon Road and then into their own building in Chanakyapuri (Diplomatic Enclave) in the mid-fifties.



3. To N.V. Gadgil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 23, 1949

My dear Gadgil,

Thank you for your letter of the 18th January.

I must say that it distresses me to find how slowly we move. This matter of Bahawalpur House has been discussed for a long time past and again and again some new difficulty arises. I hope that it would be settled soon.

As for the Diplomatic Enclave I have been amazed to read what you have written.<sup>2</sup> The time a simple matter has taken is enough to make one feel that there is little hope in our undertaking any work of this kind. Any private firm would have long finished the job.

Nor do I understand why Rs. 5 crores should be required. Evidently we are thinking in terms of the method employed in building New Delhi. All that is to be done is rapidly to level the ground more or less, to divide it in plots, and to dispose off the plots. Nothing more need be done. Of course this will require some surveying and mapping about roads, etc. That survey has at last been done according to your letter. The roads, trench, water-supply, lighting, etc. can be laid after the plots have been disposed off. Therefore the sum involved should be relatively small. I suggest to you that if we cannot undertake this work fairly quickly, we might get private firms to do it for us. This must be done now and not wait for any future year. We cannot have recurring international incidents because we are too slow in even preparing the ground for a house.

As for a new design for residential buildings, this is not merely a question of the so-called austerity buildings, but rather of the modern type of building which does away with servants and which consists of self-contained flats with modern conveniences. I would not call them austerity at all except in the sense that servants are not needed. In the long run it is much cheaper to live in these and be more comfortable. The whole of Europe and America have such houses, simply because they cannot afford servants there.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See the following item, fn. 2.



#### 4. A Diplomatic Enclave in Delhi<sup>1</sup>

The last report I saw on this subject mentioned an enormous sum of money for developing this place.<sup>2</sup> I am afraid this matter is being approached in a completely wrong way. W.M.P. might be impressed that this is of the utmost urgency and that I just do not see why so much money is involved. All that should be done and done quickly, is to level the land and plot it out. Those plots can then be disposed off to diplomats. While houses are being built, roads, water connections, lighting, etc., should be arranged. Evidently it is thought that we must proceed on the lines followed, when New Delhi was being built. That is a wrong assumption.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 23 January 1949, J.N. Collection.
2. It was proposed to develop an area of 1600 acres in South West Delhi, and a portion was to be set apart for a diplomatic colony. The colony would consist of 100 plots of 2 acres each with an estimated developmental cost of over Rs. 62 lakhs.

#### 5. Residential Buildings in Delhi<sup>1</sup>

There are two aspects of the layout and design of residential buildings in Delhi which might perhaps also be considered.

One is the desirability of our constructing compact houses with small separate flats, instead of separate tenements or quarters. In big towns space is very valuable and tends to increase in value. The idea underlying New Delhi, that is vast spaces between houses, many servants' quarters, etc., attached to each house is very much out of date, and even now many people are finding it difficult to live up to the spacious standards of servants and wide spaces. It seems to me inevitable that future housing will have to be looked upon from an entirely different point of view and, something in the nature of flats, with some modern conveniences and without the necessity of many servants will have to be adopted. In other words,

1. Note circulated for discussion in Cabinet, 6 February 1949. File No. 45(15)/49-PMS.

Delhi and other cities in India will have to follow the example of cities elsewhere. The servant problem itself makes this necessary. The present houses are meant for a multitude of servants even more than for their masters. Indeed the owner or resident of the house is a slave to this system and completely helpless, without a number of servants. As the servants are likely to disappear or diminish in numbers, the resident will feel more and more helpless in the present type of houses. Therefore, a new type, more in keeping with the present conditions, will have to be evolved.

All this of course applies to middle class houses and not to the type of quarters for Class IV government servants, for which this summary is meant. But the principle can be made to apply to this latter case also. Space being limited and expensive, we must not waste it. That in itself will be a considerable saving. Each bloc of flats for Class IV government servants could be provided with some additional rooms for a common life, children's play rooms, etc., and it would be possible then to have some kind of garde attached to that bloc. This is what has been done in Europe, notably in Vienna.

Another point to be kept in mind is, how long we are going to support a huge army of peons, etc., who fill our corridors and generally come in the way of work. We must get out of these primitive habits which grew up when the value of a human being was terribly low in India. Fortunately that value is going up, though that involves an additional burden on Government. We cannot go on both increasing salaries and keeping from time to time, the latter is not necessary and we should therefore aim at reducing this number of peons and like persons progressively.

I do not want these people to be thrown out of employment suddenly. It might be decided, however, that no new peons should be engaged by any office, old or new. Where a necessity arises, some old peons should be transferred to this new office.

## 6. To N.V. Gadgil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
9 February, 1949

My dear Gadgil,

Could you kindly let me know how far the proposal to have a modern up-to-date hotel in New Delhi has reached? This has become a matter of ur-

1. File No. 28(19)/56-PMS.

gent necessity and we are put to a great deal of inconvenience because of the lack of such a hotel. This applies more especially to External Affairs, States Ministry and Commerce Ministry. More and more delegations come from abroad and suitable accommodation cannot easily be found.

A practice is growing up of using the Government House as a kind of a hotel. This is not good. We must reserve Government House for very special guests, otherwise the virtue of staying there goes.

In any event, I think, we must treat the hotel as a high priority. We must also take very good care that it is an absolutely first-class hotel and that the persons who undertake to build it and run it must know their job thoroughly.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. To N.V. Gadgil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 10, 1949

My dear Gadgil,

Could you kindly let me know what the position is in regard to the proposal to have a diplomatic colony in New Delhi? The pressure on us is very great and I think it would help somewhat if we could inform Ambassadors and others of the steps that we are taking and how soon they would be allotted plots. Indeed, even though there might be some delay in allotting the plots, they might be asked straight off as to what type of plots they might require. If you can give us some particulars we could write to the Embassies and ask them first of all whether they intend taking a plot of land there and secondly what area they would require. This would be without any commitment to either party but to give us some idea of what their wishes are.

I might mention that the International Labour Office are anxious to have a plot there and indeed are setting aside some money for this purpose. It is desirable that the I.L.O. should have their regional office here for the entire South East Asia region.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.



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ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

III. Appointments



## 1. Training and Appointments<sup>1</sup>

I find Secretary's (Information and Broadcasting) letter completely unsatisfactory.<sup>2</sup> Here is a man<sup>3</sup> sent at Government expense to the U.S.A. for special training—a large sum estimated at Rs. 40,000 was spent on him—he returns having satisfactorily completed his special training and with high certificates of his competence—and now we are told that there is no suitable post vacant but that an effort will be made to interview this man and two others and perhaps he and they may be absorbed. Further that all this can only be temporary appointments.

All this seems to me very extraordinary. It is not a question of providing jobs for the needy or absorbing them as a matter of grace. The Government has invested a large sum of money and has got the return aimed at. Now we propose to throw away that investment and return. That is the way of a careless spendthrift. That is also the way of thinking in times of appointments and jobs instead of competence, specialist knowledge and efficiency of our work.

Who chose and sent these scholars and why were they sent?

I should like the Minister to look into this particular matter as well as this general issue raised. If necessary this can be discussed with me.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 20 December 1948. File No. 2(319)/48-PMS.
2. G.S. Bhalija, Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, wrote on 20 December 1948, that out of the seven scholars sent to the United States of America, for advanced studies in cinematography, two were still there, two were employed in the Films Division and three others including Mushir Ahmed, would be interviewed and absorbed temporarily pending recommendation by the Federal Public Service Commission.
3. Mushir Ahmad (1922-82); served in various capacities in the Films Division of the Government of India, 1948-66 and again from 1970-80.



## 2. Appointment of Statistical Adviser<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister stated that with the object of improving the efficiency of administration, modern statistical methods could be employed in many fields for checking up the effectiveness of different measures and for investigating the best manner of securing basic information for the formulation of policy. In other countries considerable use was being made of advanced statistical technique for purposes of this kind. It was desirable that similar attempts should be made in India. He, therefore, suggested that Professor P.C. Mahalanobis should be appointed Statistical Adviser to advise the Cabinet in the matter. He would be assisted by a small staff and would work in cooperation with the Economic and Statistical Coordination Section of the Cabinet Secretariat. The Prime Minister further stated that Professor Mahalanobis would have purely advisory functions.

1. Minutes of Cabinet meeting, 6 January 1949. Cabinet Secretariat Papers.

## 3. To B. Rama Rau<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 12, 1949

My dear Rama Rau,

You have been invited to accept the Governorship of the Reserve Bank and you have accepted it. I am glad you are going to take up this very important and responsible post. But I must tell you that it was only with reluctance that I agreed to let you go from our foreign service. Your work as our Ambassador in Washington has been good and has been greatly appreciated by us. I should have liked you to continue there, but the claims of the Reserve Bank were repeatedly pressed upon me and ultimately I had to surrender.

You are supposed to take charge at the beginning of July.<sup>2</sup> But Deshmukh wants you to be with him for full three months before that date, that is to say from the 1st of April. You will thus have to return here towards the end of March. I understand that you want to spend some days in London on your way back.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. He succeeded C.D. Deshmukh in June 1949.

We have to think hard now about the new arrangements at Washington. In spite of rumours and press statements from time to time, we had made no decision about this matter. But obviously some decision has to be made soon and it will be communicated to you.

There is one matter about which I should like to draw your special attention. The salary of the Governor of the Reserve Bank has thus far been Rs. 7,500/-. The new Board, elected under the new Act that has been passed, will have to fix the salary for the future, which Government will have to approve. It is clear that we cannot have such big salaries. In our Constitution and in our practice, we are reducing all the higher salaries and even the Governor-General's salary has been brought down to Rs. 5,500/- (free of tax). Other salaries are proportionately lower. The salary of the Governor of the Reserve Bank will have to fit in to this new structure.

With all good wishes to you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Rama Rau agreed to accept a reduced salary.

#### 4. To M. Asaf Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 25, 1949

My dear Asaf Ali,

Your letter of the 16th January.<sup>2</sup> I am sorry for the delay in answering it. But, as you know, we have all been very busy with the Indonesian Conference.<sup>3</sup> This Conference has turned out to be a great success from every point of view. I think we have not only helped the Indonesian Republic greatly but also made the world feel that India and Asia count very much. What impressed most people who came from abroad was the efficiency of our arrangements. A great deal of thought and preparation lay behind them.

You write to me about B.R. Sen.<sup>4</sup> I am exceedingly sorry that anything that we may have done should distress you. As a matter of fact nothing

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Asaf Ali protested about the selection of B.R. Sen as the Charge d'Affaires in Washington.

3. See section 2.

4. At this time he was Minister to the Embassy of India in the U.S.A.



was further from our thoughts and I think you have attached a meaning to our actions which had no justification. As you know, we are very short of personnel and we were very hard put to it to find a man to send to the Economic Council of the U.N. B.R. Sen had just completed a job here and was available. After considerable thought we decided to send him to this Economic and Social Council. Subsequently the question of number two at the Washington Embassy arose and we did not decide about this for some time. We looked round and we could not get any person who could at all be considered suitable. It so happened that Loy Henderson, in the course of a talk with me, spoke very highly of B.R. Sen. This was not in connection with any appointment in Washington. He was merely discussing some of our officers whom he knew. This taken together with certain other factors finally decided us to appoint B.R. Sen as Minister at Washington.

I knew that you did not approve of B.R. Sen's work in Washington. My own impression was and this was confirmed by some other sources of information that B.R. Sen was at fault in many respects in this matter. Nevertheless I did not have any idea of what you have now written to me. We did not consult Nan in this matter here at the time. Previously I had asked her about B.R. Sen and her general opinion was that he was able and competent, but a difficult person sometimes to get on with. For the rest she said she did not know much about his work or about him.

What you say applies not to his appointment at Washington or to any other diplomatic post, but generally to his remaining in Government service in any position. Indeed, it might be said that in any other position he would be even more unsuitable given those facts or inferences. We have, therefore, either to keep him in service or not. If we keep him in service, then we have to utilise him in the best way possible. As he had just completed one piece of work and was available, it was natural for us to think of him in connection with this vacancy in Washington.

I might inform you that B.R. Sen, ever since his return from Washington, has not said a word to me in criticism of you. Nor have I heard anything from other sources which may have emanated from B.R. Sen. I cannot, of course, say what he might have said to others. I rather doubt if Sri Krishan's<sup>5</sup> or Karaka's<sup>6</sup> effusions have anything to do with him. These two persons as well as *Blitz* have been writing poisonous stuff not only about you but also about Nan and me and most of our diplomatic appointments. Indeed, the main target is the Foreign Minister who is accused of nepotism and the like. All this has irritated me greatly but I have put up

5. A prominent journalist of Delhi.

6. D.F. Karaka.



with it, more or less silently, because I do not wish to enter into an argument with these low down papers.

K.P.S. Menon, as Foreign Secretary, has no doubt an important voice in our appointments. But I do not think that he makes recommendations on personal reasons in so far as these can be avoided by anyone. Normally these processes take time and go through various stages.

I can assure you that in no sense whatever was his choice an adverse comment on you. I am not aware of any intrigue or conspiracy in this matter. It may be that some of our choices are not happy or right. We have to deal with the people we have. The field is limited and we try to get work even from people who, in the past, have not functioned satisfactorily.

It is absurd for anyone to say that the State Department asked us or even hinted at your recall. That is completely untrue. It is frightfully difficult to catch up to these stories and the kind of press that we have recently developed.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To Sudhir Ghosh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 3, 1949

My dear Sudhir,

Your letter of the 1st February.<sup>2</sup>

There is no question of my having discarded you. I spoke to you frankly on the last occasion and suggested to you that you might do some other work for the time being. Normally I do not choose anybody for the Foreign Service or any other Service. Various Selection Boards do this work and I only get to know of it later. In your case, I had put your name privately before some of the members of the Selection Board and I found that their reaction was not favourable. I could not proceed with the matter any further. That has little to do with the incidents you mention.

I have been hearing about your work in East Punjab and the Punjab States and I want to tell you that the reports I have received have been favourable to you and I was very glad to learn of the good work you were

1. Sudhir Ghosh Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Ghosh protested against his not having been selected for the foreign service.

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

doing.<sup>3</sup> I think you should continue this for the present. If any opportunity arises for some other suitable work, we shall certainly consider the matter.

You can see me for a few minutes in my office if you so desire.

I am returning the two letters you have sent me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. At that time he was Director of Rehabilitation in East Punjab and East Punjab States. He was appointed Deputy Rehabilitation Adviser to the Government of India on 8 April 1949.

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ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

IV. Tours and Travelling





## 1. Rail Travel by Ministers<sup>1</sup>

Both Shri Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Shri Rafi Ahmed Kidwai have written to Sardar Patel about the new rules for railway travelling by Ministers of State and Deputy Ministers.<sup>2</sup> Will you please discuss this matter with the Secretary, Home Ministry.

My own view is that no one, whether Minister of State or Deputy Minister or Secretary should travel in anything bigger than a coupe compartment unless this is not available and unless the exigencies of work do not require something else. There should be no question of prestige about this. If I have to travel by railway, I would prefer a coupe, unless my party was bigger or unless my work required more space and facilities.

I can understand, however, that a Minister of State when travelling on business may require more space for office work, etc. He may have to halt occasionally during a tour and have to stay in his compartment or carriage. This specially applies to the Minister of State dealing with railways. It may also apply to the Minister of State dealing with relief. Therefore, Ministers of State should be entitled, when they think that their work requires, to take a four-berth compartment or even a saloon. It should be left to them to judge of this, provided that the test they apply is that of the work to be done and the facilities necessary for it.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 16 January 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. As per the recommendation of the Economy Committee to reduce expenditure, it was decided that the Ministers of State and the Deputy Ministers would only be entitled to travel by coupe and not by a saloon, if it was not essential for the nature of the work.

## 2. To Rafi Ahmed Kidwai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
14 February 1949

My dear Rafi,

I have received a copy of a letter dated 11th February which you have sent to Sardar Patel about the status, travelling allowances, etc. of Deputy Ministers.<sup>2</sup> I think there is some misapprehension about this business of political posts and non-political posts, whatever that might mean. As for travelling allowances etc. I am not very much concerned. Certainly a person should get enough travelling allowances to cover his expenses of touring. If the allowance fixed is not enough, it should be raised.

Occasionally perhaps a saloon is necessary. Generally speaking, however, I dislike the use of saloons by anybody, more especially in these days of transport difficulty when every carriage and wagon counts.

So far as the flag is concerned, it is not the District Magistrate or Commissioner who uses the flag at his residence, but the official head of the District. In any order of priority a District Magistrate is nowhere and there must be several hundred persons in Delhi who are far and way above him. But all these hundreds of persons do not put a flag at their residences. A provincial minister represents the Government of the province. I do not think we should add to the use of the flag much more on residences. On a car it has some value, because it helps in getting through traffic, etc. On houses it has no special value except a show off. I do not see why anyone should be keen in showing himself off.

I confess I neither understand nor appreciate this business of showing off and status. There are large number of civilians who, in every way, may be far superior to the highest of Government officials including the Prime Minister. But they do not find any place in a warrant of precedent in any country. On occasions of course they are shown special honour.

A political appointment need not carry a higher status than that of a permanent civil or military officer. Some appointments may do so. There is no virtue as such in a political appointment. We seem to have got into a tangle, because of our past history and the way we looked upon permanent servants of the Government. The real difference is that a permanent servant cannot rise higher than a certain stage, while a person holding what you call a political appointment can rise to the highest grade, such as President or Prime Minister. The fact that he can rise to that grade does not give high status to begin with or in any intermediate grade.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See preceding item, fn. 2.



From a completely different point of view, a Member of Parliament has a high status apart from any other official position. He has certain privileges etc. which no permanent servant has. But as soon as that Member of Parliament becomes a member of an official hierarchy, he fits in somewhere in it, according to the type of work he is doing.

Of course courtesies should be shown to Ministers of State and to Deputy Ministers. I suppose where protocol is concerned, as is inevitable in such matters, some difference is laid down which has nothing to do with the merits of the individual.

As to what powers a Deputy Minister should have, this will depend on conventions that grow up and on the Minister under whom he works. If a Deputy Minister is functioning as a Minister, then naturally he will have his powers. The question only arises when there is a conflict of opinion between a Deputy Minister and the Secretary. If there is such a conflict, then it is desirable that the Minister should be referred to and should decide.

As regards status etc., I believe, we are following strictly to conventions that have been established in other countries in like matters.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Sardar Patel.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



10

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

V. Indian Missions





## 1. Indian Embassies and Indians Abroad<sup>1</sup>

I saw Mr. Sanjevi today and he gave me an account of his visit to London, Paris, Geneva and Cairo. I understand that he is seeing you and he will no doubt mention some of the matters he spoke to me about and that you will take such action as you think necessary in regard to them.

2. There is one thing however which surprised me. He told me that our Embassies in these places had no register of Indian nationals and indeed had made no effort to prepare one. I should have thought that this was the first duty of an embassy or legation. When I was in Paris, I actually spoke about this to our Charge there<sup>2</sup> and impressed upon him that immediate steps should be taken to make a list of all Indian nationals in France. If such steps have not been taken even now, some kind of explanation should be called for.

3. I was greatly dissatisfied with the working of our Paris Embassy and I spoke to our Charge and the First Secretary with some warmth on this subject. I should like full reports as to what this Embassy is doing.

4. I think you might write to all our embassies and legations abroad asking them to prepare full list of our nationals in their respective countries.

5. It is necessary also that all Indians abroad should have the new Indian passport. It is unbecoming for an Indian now to carry an old British passport. I do not see why there should be delay in this process.

6. Sanjevi mentioned to me that on one occasion, I think it was in Cairo, our code message could not be deciphered at the Embassy and was sent to the British Embassy for decoding. This was improper. No message of ours should be sent to another embassy for this purpose. If it could not be deciphered, they should have telegraphed to us. Instructions should be issued to all our establishments abroad to tighten up their security measures and more specially to keep our ciphers and codes secret.

7. Sanjevi told me also that he learnt in Cairo that a member of our Embassy staff had been in the habit of accepting some payments for visas issued, that is to say some extra payments. An enquiry might be made from our Ambassador.<sup>3</sup>

8. Certain complaints come to me from time to time from Indians abroad of a lack of consideration shown to them at our Embassies. During my visit to Europe recently I laid particular stress in our Embassy staff showing

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 5 January 1949. File No. 1(10)-Corr., 47 M.E.A., N.A.I.

3. P.P. Pillai.

3. Syud Hossain

every courtesy to our countrymen abroad. I think this might be mentioned again in appropriate language. The chief complaint I had heard previously was about our Paris Embassy.<sup>4</sup>

4. In December 1948 there were complaints about inefficient administration of the Paris Embassy in regard to decoding instructions and helping Indian nationals there.

## 2. To Sarat Chandra Bose<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
26 January 1949

My dear Sarat Babu,

I have received your letter of the 24th January<sup>2</sup> together with a copy of a newspaper containing a report of your press conference.<sup>3</sup> To my knowledge, there are a number of statements in it which are completely without foundation. However, I shall enquire into the matter more fully.

As you have been good enough to send this to me, might I suggest that it would have been a little more in the fitness of things if you had written to me about these matters before giving publicity to your impressions. I might have been able to correct some of them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Sarat Bose wrote that "after having made close and careful enquiries in London and Paris I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that our embassies in London and in Paris are a disgrace to us."

3. At his press conference in London on 28 December Sarat Bose had alleged that the Government of India was still being guided by Mountbatten who, along with Cripps, was trying to keep her in the Commonwealth; that India had surrendered in Kashmir and the plebiscite would go against her; that the Indonesian Conference was a farce because Japan and Russia were not invited and that the Indian embassies in London and Paris were in a very bad shape. He wanted Nehru to disclose the value and quantity of foreign liquor imported in 1948. He alleged that Nehru had committed India to participate in the next world war.



### 3. The Criticisms of Sarat Bose<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: As a matter of fact I ventured to give a reply to most of the points raised by the honourable member<sup>2</sup> a few days ago in answer to a question. With regard to the further statement purporting to come from Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose I can only regret that statements were made which had extraordinarily little relation to facts.<sup>3</sup> It amazes me that any person who in the faintest degree considers himself responsible should make such statements without the slightest reference to anybody. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was in London and on arrival in India he did not try even to verify the statements which he had made. On arrival in India he did not try to put himself in touch with anybody and find out whether his statements were correct or not. He could have done that. In fact most of the statements that he has made are, like this present one, incorrect and completely baseless.<sup>4</sup>

May I inform the House in this connection that India House in London is a very big organisation which not only carried out its old functions such as they were but carried on all the functions of India Office which ceased to exist and which were transferred to India House. Further, now—since the last year and a half—it is on par with one of our principal embassies. It carries on, in addition to its own functions, the old functions of the India Office which are still continued, as well as diplomatic and consular functions, with the result that it is a very big establishment now. Many of the people employed there have been employed previously, that is from the previous regime. Some have come over from India Office—old hands with fifteen or twenty years service. What we have attempted to do is naturally to change the heads of departments and the principal officers, and we have succeeded in doing that. The heads of departments and principal officers, I believe, are Indian now. Most of the English staff are clerical

1. Replies to questions, 8 February 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative Debates, Official Report, Part I, Vol. I, 1949.*
2. H.V. Kamath drew Nehru's attention to the statement of Sarat Chandra Bose that the Government of India had appointed a purchasing agent for whisky and an official broker and asked whether the purchases made through the Director of Stores were only nominal.
3. In a speech in Calcutta on 28 January 1949 Sarat Chandra Bose declared that India House was "surrounded by international crooks", and "blackmarketeering through the India House Purchasing Agents is rampant." He said that India House took no care of the approximately two thousand Indian students in London.
4. See *ante*, item 2, fn. 3.

staff and the lower staff. Even in regard to those it is our ceaseless attempt to change them. But may I mention to the House one or two matters in this connection? First of all, it is not a particularly easy matter to send there large numbers of clerks from India for the clerical work. Apart from the expense involved it is not easy to find suitable men—suitable not from the point of view of competence of doing the work, that we will find no doubt—but suitable from the point of view of being able easily to fit in there. This is a difficulty not only for the clerks themselves but even greater for their families. We cannot send them for long periods without the families also being sent. So it is not an easy matter. But we are sending them more and more. Many fit in; many do not fit in and we have to bring them back. All these difficulties have to be considered. As a matter of fact a large number of people employed there, old employees, have been replaced by Indians who have been sent there. But, as I said, we have started at the top and we have succeeded in that. We now propose as an efficiency measure, which may also of course being about economy to overhaul the whole staff with the help of the High Commissioner there and with the help of some officer sent from here, so that we can make the working more efficient than it is at present. My own personal experience of its work during the last two or three years, as a result of watching it from here and also during my last visit to England was that, there has been a great improvement in the efficiency of the work there generally speaking and a general coordination of an extraordinarily complicated structure.

M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar asked what were the more important India Office functions which still continued after the Independence Act had been passed.

JN: Mostly pensions etc. — payments of that type which are pretty extensive.

Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri enquired whether the whisky was for the entire Indian Army or for non-Indian officers of the Army. B.V. Keskar interjected that the question should be addressed to the Defence Department.

JN: No, no. I will answer it. I regret the habit to refer questioners to other Departments. In so far as we can we should answer the questions. If there is anything that remains it can be asked from the other Department. With regard to the present question, it is meant for the Indian Army, both Indian and non-Indian.

B.Das enquired whether the Prime Minister examined the files dealing with the scope of purchases in London, or knew about the unprecedented cases of High Commissioner's personal interest about placing orders.

JN: I do not know which matters the honourable member is referring to. If it is relating to this whisky. . .

B. Das said that the matter did not relate to the case of whisky.

JN: How can I answer about odd questions? In this particular matter, because this question was put we took special interest and we found that the High Commissioner knew nothing about it till he was directly approached by the Defence Ministry to intervene and help them.

Tajamul Husain asked whether the Government proposed to take action against those people who make false and reckless statements against Government.

JN: We will have to have a separate Ministry for that.





10

ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

VI. General





1. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
5 January 1949

My dear Krishna,

Sanjeevi returned a few days ago. I was in Allahabad. Tonight he came to see me and gave me an account of his visit to England, France & etc. Previously he had been to see Sardar Patel and given him much the same account. In the course of this account he had mentioned his conversations with you.<sup>2</sup> According to him you had expressed your displeasure at his coming and had repeatedly condemned the Government of India's and more especially the Home Ministry's policy regarding Communists in India. I do not know what exactly you said but I suppose the general trend was correctly reported to me. I am rather surprised at your speaking to Sanjeevi about this matter for he is not responsible for Government policy. You will remember that I wrote to you about Sanjeevi and told you why we had decided to send him. I still do not see any impropriety in this.

Vallabhbhai Patel must be somewhat annoyed at the report he has received. He has not spoken to me about it but he is sure to do so soon. I should like to know from you what exactly happened.<sup>3</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Sanjeevi, in a note to H.V.R. Iengar of 6 January 1949, stated that Krishna Menon had openly expressed displeasure on his arrival in London and reacted adversely to the purpose of his visit. He was said to have repeatedly condemned the policy of the Government of India, and particularly of the Home Ministry regarding Communists in India which he termed as "barbarous and inhuman". Sanjeevi said that Menon had also refused to believe that the Communists of India were resorting to violence and justified the criticism in the British Press of the Government of India's action against the Communists.
3. Krishna Menon replied on 16 January that he had not shown displeasure at Sanjeevi's visit, and had referred to the imprisonment of Communists. He accused Sanjeevi of reporting a conversation which Menon had assumed to be unofficial, charged him with 'drawing him out' under false pretences and of being an "agent provocateur". Menon offered to come to Delhi to clear up the matter.

## 2. To Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
6 January 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have your letter of the 6th about Sanjeevi's note.<sup>2</sup> I was myself greatly distressed at the information given by Sanjeevi in his note and I can well appreciate how you must have felt about this matter. It amazes me how and why Krishna Menon should have talked in this way. I can only explain and excuse it to some extent by imagining that he was under some deep mental strain and consequently completely upset. He is often rather ill and sometimes his nerves give way when he is unwell. In any event what he is reported to have said is totally inexcusable.

I have briefly written to him on the subject and asked him for his version. I did not think it necessary at this stage to send him a copy of Sanjeevi's note.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence, 1945-50*, Vol. 8, p. 29.
2. Vallabhbhai wrote, "I need hardly say that I feel very distressed about it and am deeply pained to find Krishna Menon adopting the attitude and views which he expressed in his interviews with Sanjeevi."

## 3. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
11 January 1949

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 11th January.<sup>2</sup> I quite agree with you that Vallabhbhai's grievance in this matter is legitimate. I have written to Krishna Menon on the subject. I did not send him a copy of Sanjeevi's report. I thought I had better ask him about it first. But I mentioned that I had been greatly disturbed by Sanjeevi's report and what Krishna Menon is reported to have said to him. I am awaiting Krishna Menon's reply.

It is clear to me that Krishna Menon, for some reason or other, lost complete control of himself and said things which he should never have

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Rajagopalachari wanted Krishna Menon to write a letter acknowledging error and expressing regret for his remarks about Vallabhbhai Patel to Sanjeevi.

said. He acted imprudently and without regard to proprieties and conventions and the normal restraint which he should exercise. He is an extraordinarily nervous individual and sometimes gets completely upset by rather trivial happenings. His ill-health adds to this.

When I was in London last, as I was leaving, he mentioned to me that he would like to resign. I asked him not to be silly. From a variety of reports and from my personal knowledge, I have come to the conclusion that his work at the India House has been first-rate. He is generally popular and his staff works harder under him than it has previously done. He has a number of faults and he is not always easy to get on with.

At the present moment it would put us in difficulty if he resigns.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

#### 4. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 11, 1949

My dear Krishna,

I wrote to you a brief letter<sup>2</sup> a few days ago about Sanjeevi's report. Whether this report is strictly accurate or not, I cannot say. But I imagine that it is substantially accurate because there is no reason why it should not be so.

In this report much is said which has surprised me exceedingly. I know your feelings about certain matters in India. While I understand them, I do not agree with your appraisal of the situation here. We have had to deal with a particularly virulent and violent attack and I just do not see how any government can tolerate this kind of thing. The type of violence that we have had to deal with has been of the worst kind involving numerous murders, arson and looting.<sup>3</sup>

However, quite apart from the merits of the problem or one's opinion in regard to it, it does seem to me that it was rather extraordinary for you to address an officer of the Home Ministry and express your opinion strongly against the Home Ministry and the Government of India. What could a poor officer do? He did not lay down policy, nor indeed did he execute it. He was only a channel of information.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. See *ante*, item 1.

3. Nehru had in mind Communist activities in different parts of India particularly in West Bengal and Hyderabad.



This report has naturally upset people here greatly. I shall be grateful to you if you could write to me about it as to what your view of what happened is. If in a moment of excitement you said something which was against propriety and convention, I have no doubt that you will acknowledge this error and express your regret for it. That would be fair to all concerned.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

## 5. Prime Minister's Security Arrangements<sup>1</sup>

For some weeks past, whenever I have gone out in a car, I have been preceded by a pilot motor-bicycle and followed by a car containing security men. Presumably it was thought that special precautions should be taken in view of certain developments. I did not object to this as I did not wish to interfere with the judgment of those responsible for security arrangements.

2. But I do feel that this business of security is overdone. I should like you to have a talk with H.V.R. Iengar and Sanjeevi on the subject and put it to them that there might be reduction in the security staff in my house. More particularly it does not seem to me necessary for a pilot motor-bicycle and a car to accompany me. The car might well be dropped out. The pilot may continue for a while. Normally I go from my house to my office to the Council Chamber or to Government House. In case I have to go to a particular function specially in the city, extra arrangements might be made for that occasion.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 18 January 1949. J.N. Collection.

6. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 24, 1949

My dear Krishna,

I have received your three letters, one dated 16th January and the other two of the 20th January,<sup>2</sup> in reply to my letter about Sanjeevi's report. Thank you for them.

I shall write more about them later. As you know, I have been terribly busy with the Conference on Indonesia and other matters.

For the present, I should just like to say that of course I accept entirely what you have written. I still think that you are wrong in imagining that Sanjeevi was sent to spy on India House. The question of his going to London had arisen two or three occasions during the past months in an entirely different connection. It was not merely going to London, but going to one or two other centres. I am quite clear in my own mind that no one asked him to go there to spy on India House or even suggested it to him. It is true, however, that a policeman or a secret service man functions in a peculiar way. He has very seldom any political appreciation and, therefore, imagines things where none exists.

If Sanjeevi had thought that he had to report on India House, he would no doubt have spent more time there and tried to see more of you. According to you, he only saw you twice, apart from meeting you at a party. I can quite conceive of his not following or understanding the purport of your conversation and drawing wrong inferences from it.<sup>3</sup>

I shall write more later.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. In his letters of 20 January 1949, Krishna Menon wrote that he was willing to express regret. He added "I would...like you to feel that so far as I am concerned you are entirely free to deal with this matter and its implications in anyway you wish."
3. Krishna Menon wrote to Nehru on 16 January 1949 "I did say that police reports on political opinions made...by policemen...placed people at the mercy of the police and the State would tend to become a police State... It dawned on me that he could not follow what I was talking about."

## 7. To Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
25 January 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am sorry for the delay in dealing with your letter of the 31st December, which you sent me, about the disposal of mercy petitions.<sup>2</sup> I sent your letter with its attached note to the Governor General, and he sent me a reply to it dated 11th January.<sup>3</sup>

It seems clear that the usual practice is for the Home Secretary's advice to be accepted by the King. Probably this is done almost invariably. Yet it would appear from the quotation from Halsbury<sup>4</sup> that there is a possibility for it not being accepted. I do not think we need attach much importance to this argument and we may take it that except in rare cases, the Home Secretary's wishes prevail.

I think it is better to consider it on the merits, as the G.G. suggests.

It is always desirable to have certain definite rules for the guidance of a minister's discretion and these rules should be followed. Yet no rules can effectively deal with the human aspect of such a problem and there is always, therefore, some little scope for the exercise of discretion from this human point of view, quite apart from the strict rules which govern such procedure. The Minister concerned will naturally consider this human aspect also.

It does seem to me, however, that in such a matter, which has no political or constitutional significance, the Head of the State should not be treated as an automaton. Whether a person is ultimately sentenced to death or has to serve a life sentence has no great significance from the public or social point of view, except in so far as some people may object to a death sentence. Many people would consider a life sentence far worse than sudden death. Therefore, it is easily possible for the Head of the State to have some scope and some voice in this matter without in anyway committing a constitutional impropriety.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Convicts condemned to death were allowed to send mercy petitions to the Governor General for commutation of the death sentence to transportation for life. In line with the procedure followed in the United Kingdom, provincial Governments submitted the petitions to the Home Ministry which placed them with their recommendations before the Governor General. Patel wanted quick disposal of the cases numbering 438 in 1946, 283 in 1947 and 167 in 1948.

3. In the three preceding years, the Governor General had commuted the death sentences of 13 out of 438, 7 out of 283, and 23 out of 167 convicts respectively.

4. *Laws of England 1907-19*, edited by Lord Halsbury.



On the whole I am inclined to think that the GG's suggestion to the effect that "before finally making up his mind the Minister may informally let the GG know what view he is inclined to take and if the Governor General has nothing to urge against it—as would normally be the case—the Minister will make a formal recommendation in accordance with that view. In other cases the Minister will make his recommendation after taking into account what the GG may point out."

I think this course takes into consideration the two approaches to this problem without doing violence to either.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Governor General.

I am sending you the various papers in this connection.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

## 8. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 26, 1949

My dear Krishna,

I am writing to you about the Sanjeevi matter. I have consulted Rajaji about this and shown him your letters to me. I thought his advice would be helpful.

As I have already written to you, I have no doubt at all in my mind that what you have written is the correct account of what had happened. But I do feel that you are starting with some assumptions which are not justified.

Sanjeevi did not go to London to report upon you or India House. Nor did he even go at Sardar Patel's instance. I was consulted about this matter by Sanjeevi on two or three occasions and I think I know all the facts. Sardar Patel did not take much interest in this. He merely acquiesced in Sanjeevi's going. He is far too busy with his States Ministry and with other developments, like the R.S.S. agitation, to pay much attention to these matters.

Some months ago I discussed with Sanjeevi the desirability of our improving our intelligence organisation. When Nambiar<sup>2</sup> came here, he talked about it also and I sent him to Sanjeevi. Nambiar's suggestion was that a

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. A.C.N. Nambiar was Counsellor in Berne, Switzerland, at this time.

Swiss intelligence officer might be borrowed by us for the purpose. He had a high opinion of Swiss intelligence. Ever since then this question of our getting some man from abroad or one of our men being sent abroad came up for discussion repeatedly. Sanjeevi evidently preferred the latter. When Sillitoe<sup>3</sup> invited him to go to England, he jumped at the idea. He asked the Home Ministry and he came to ask me about it. Both of us informed him that we had no objection. I think I am right in saying that no mention of you was made to him in this connection by the Home Ministry. It was I who mentioned you in the sense that I wanted him to keep in touch with you.

I am quite certain, therefore, that his visit to England had absolutely nothing to do with any report on India House or you. Knowing the way policemen work, I was anxious that he might not get tied up in anyway with Sillitoe. That was the reason why I warned against this and told him to keep in touch with you.

I have seen the report which Sanjeevi presented. The report deals entirely with the organisation of intelligence in England. It is a fairly good report. This report says nothing about you. On his return, however, he mentioned orally that he had two talks with you and he gave a brief purport of those talks. Thereupon, he was asked to put these in writing. This written report was shown to me and it was on the basis of this that I wrote to you.

If Sanjeevi had any instructions or any particular notion of finding out things about you or India House, he would have spent much more time there and reported on it more thoroughly. He has said nothing in his report about India House.

So the first thing to be cleared about is this : that no one here had the slightest intention of Sanjeevi going to London to report on you or India House. I do not think even Sanjeevi had any such intention or idea. In fact he has not done so, so far as I know. Being a policeman with a policeman's mentality, he functioned as he did in his conversations with you. Unable to appreciate the political background, he drew wrong impressions and felt it his duty to mention them.

I see daily large numbers of intelligence reports and I entirely agree with you as to their nature and the value one should attach to them. Inevitably we discount a great deal of what they contain. Certain valuable facts are obtained often enough, but wherever there is any political aspect, intelligence is apt to go wrong.

Sardar Patel may not like you, but he has, on several occasions, expressed his appreciation of the work you have done. This was chiefly

3. Sir Percy J. Sillitoe (1888-1962); Director-General of U.K. Security Service, 1946-53.



because he got reports, in favour of your work from some people who went from here to London, like Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and H.M. Patel. It is true that he is likely to believe, rather too easily any criticism made about some people. Undoubtedly, Sanjeevi's mention of his conversation with you upset him greatly and he felt that this was a personal insult to him and to his work here.

I might mention that I have had no talk with Sardar Patel on this subject. He wrote to me a brief letter saying that he was rather upset about it. He spoke to Rajaji much to the same effect. I informed him that Sanjeevi's report was rather extraordinary and I was surprised that you should have spoken in the manner reported. If that was so, it was a breach of propriety. Further I added that I was writing to you to enquire what had happened.

In this particular matter, therefore, I do not think Sardar Patel is at all to blame, unless you say that he accepts reports too easily.

The letters you have written to me are strictly personal and I cannot show them to Sardar Patel, although I have shown them to Rajaji. There are some passages in your letter which would irritate Sardar Patel.

Thank you for sending me your note of regret. So far as I am concerned that was unnecessary and in some respects it goes beyond what is needed. I am not making any use of it. Rajaji suggests that instead of any such form of regret, you might write a personal letter to Sardar Patel. Something to the following effect:

"I have heard with deep regret that a report made by Mr. Sanjeevi of his conversations with me has caused annoyance to you. I have not seen this report and I have no notes of the conversation. But the Prime Minister has written to me that in this report of Mr. Sanjeevi I had repeatedly condemned the Government of India's and more especially the Home Ministry's policy in regard to the Communists in India. I do not think I said anything of this kind, nor did I make any statements deprecatory of the Government of India or the Home Ministry. Our conversation was entirely informal and what I told him was about public reactions in England about Indian affairs. I did not either protest or argue policy with Mr. Sanjeevi. I did not refer to the Home Ministry or to you. It is possible that Mr. Sanjeevi did not quite follow what I was talking about and it is difficult for anyone to carry a conversation and convey it accurately to another. But irrespective of the accuracy of Mr. Sanjeevi's report to you, I should like to express my deep regret to you for any annoyance caused to you."

Perhaps you could write something more or less on the above lines to Sardar Patel. You could send the letter to me or write to him directly.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal



9. To K.N. Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
26 January 1949

My dear Kailash Nath,<sup>2</sup>

Will you permit me to tell you that I did not like at all the display of bunnings and flags in some of the ground floor rooms of Government House. The place resembled some kind of a bazar. There was no dignity left. Nor did I admire the cheap prints of the Congress President and the like. Certainly we should put up pictures of eminent Indians, but then they should be really good.

I should like Government House to be progressively more Indian in their furniture and decorations. But they should always be dignified and artistic. Too much of the Congress public meeting idea does not suit them or indeed any residential houses.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. At that time (1948-1951) Katju was Governor of West Bengal.

10. No Excess of Red Tapism<sup>1</sup>

With reference to Mr. Mathai's note attached, I should like to know why copies of Masani's book and Moraes' and Stimson's books were sent to Moscow and who is responsible for this. Also about Azim Husain's book.<sup>2</sup>

Sometime ago I suggested that a list of publications to be sent to our Embassies should be prepared. Professor Radhakrishnan sent us a long list. I think that a somewhat shorter list might be prepared with the assistance of some scholars and of course with the Foreign Secretary as approver. This matter should not be left to other members of the staff.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 30 January 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. M.O. Mathai in his note of 28 January 1949, said that one of the Embassies had requested the Information Division of the External Affairs Ministry, for the supply of books on cultural subjects relating to India. As a result seven copies of Masani's *Our India*, Stimson and Moraes' *Introduction to India* and Azim Husain's biography of his father, *Fazl-i-Hussain and His Times* were sent.

It has come to my knowledge that Col. Nair<sup>3</sup> our Attache in Washington, used to send me some press clippings directly addressed to me. This was apparently disapproved by some officer of External Affairs and he was asked to discontinue this practice. I should like to know why this was done and who did it? How did he know that I had not asked Col. Nair myself to send these things to me? In any event the matter should have been brought to my notice before any action was taken.

Discipline is essential in the office and certain rules have to be observed. But rules are meant to make work speedy and efficient and not to come in the way of efficiency. In particular, an excess of red-tape is a sign of lack of efficiency and intelligence. Above all, anything savouring of a pompous manner is most objectionable. Secretariats have a tendency to develop this manner and even their language reflects it. I hope this will be sternly discouraged.

It is right that communications from abroad or from junior members of the staff should go through the proper channels. But it should be open to any person from the chaprasi upwards to address me direct if he wants to, apart from formal communications. It is for me to tell him that he is acting wrongly and not for anyone else.

I have noticed certain looseness in talk among some of our junior officers in regard to matters that come up before us officially. This is bad at any time and in any place. But it is particularly wrong in an office dealing with foreign affairs where budding diplomats are supposed to receive their training. We have frequently had complaints about a lack of security in External Affairs. Apart from deliberate breaches of security regulations, it is equally important to prevent a habit from growing of discussing such matters among officers or clerical staff.

It must always be remembered that while strict discipline must be observed, this has to be done in a democratic and popular context, and every officer and clerk and chaprasi has to deal with the public with courtesy and forbearance.

I should like to address our junior officers on some of these matters myself one of these days.

This note is entirely personal and need not go to any file.

F.S. will kindly discuss these matters with me.

3. Col: Unni Nair, later served in Korea, and was killed by a mine blast in 1950.

**11. To Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
February 2, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose letters from Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.<sup>2</sup> I confess that I sympathise with her greatly and I know that she has been very hard worked. I do not know why some of her senior officers remain on a temporary basis.

I am afraid the Economy Committee has viewed many of our problems from an angle which might be businesslike but which ignores the human aspect of our work. I do not know what their recommendations are. But Amrit Kaur is greatly exercised about them and is on the verge of collapse.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In her letter dated 9 January 1949, she wrote: "I am 60 per cent without any senior staff for the last few months. I cannot fill any posts because of the Economy Committee's fantastic proposals."

**12. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
February 2, 1949

My dear Rajaji,

I thank you for your letter of today about the staff that accompanies you on your tours. I am very sorry that this little matter should have distressed you and given you so much trouble. I mentioned it because Sarojini Naidu had spoken to me about it and said that it put a great strain on accommodation at the other end.

I am sure that you should be accompanied by an adequate staff wherever you go and you are the best judge of it. It is not the staff that needs looking into so much as the domestic servants. I feel overwhelmed in India by the number of domestic servants. I do not see why everyone of your officers should carry domestic servants to look after them. Hardly anywhere else in the world are so many domestic servants to be seen as in India. I suppose in another ten years' time a revolution will take place in

1. J.N. Collection.



India also in this matter. As it is, the average middle-class person can hardly afford a servant.

It is clear from the statement you have sent me that the number of people accompanying the Mountbattens was far greater than those who accompany you.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

### 13. Need for Responsible Conduct by Members<sup>1</sup>

Some Ministers,<sup>2</sup> both of the Central Government and Provincial Governments, recently sent a message of goodwill to a meeting of the Nepal Democratic Congress at Calcutta.<sup>3</sup> There was nothing wrong about these messages or about our sympathising with the democratic movement in Nepal. Nevertheless, it is not customary for Ministers of the Government officially to address in this way an organisation which is engaged in an agitation against the Government of a friendly country. Difficulties arise and the Government of the friendly country protests. It is, therefore, desirable, if I may say so, to refrain from sending such messages.

Apart from the consideration mentioned above, sometimes it is difficult to know what a particular organisation stands for and who its sponsors are. The professed objects may be very good and desirable but some of the sponsors may have other aims in view.

I, therefore, suggest that our Ministers here as well as in the Provinces might exercise some caution in this respect.

1. Note to Ministers of Central Government, Provincial Premiers and to K.D. Malaviya, New Delhi, 3 February 1949. File No. 22/48-OSI/AFR-II, PT-II, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. The messages of goodwill were sent by Mohanlal Saksena, K. Santhanam, B.G. Kher and K.D. Malaviya.
3. Organised by Mahendra Bikram Shah, the meeting of Nepal Democratic Congress was held at Calcutta on 30 December 1948.

14. To B.V. Keskar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 14, 1949

My dear Balkrishna,

On my return today, I was told of the questions and answers in the Assembly about you and Bajpai, relating to the place in the warrant of precedence, etc.<sup>2</sup> I am sorry I was not present in the Assembly at the time, as I should have liked to deal with the questions myself. It seems to me that the questions were hardly meant for information, which of course could have been easily obtained in a variety of ways, but probably had some other motive behind them. I confess I do not appreciate this kind of thing. Apart from being in bad form, it is likely to affect our work. There is bound to be a feeling of friction and a certain lack of frankness as between you and the officers of our Ministry as a result of such questions. That will not be helpful in smooth working, which is so essential in an organisation. Whoever the questioners were, they did you and the Ministry little service. I do not know if you knew about these questions being put. If so, it would have been desirable for the questioner to have been asked to discuss it with me. The whole basis of the questions is lack of knowledge of normal procedure and an idea, I suppose, that every service man must necessarily be subordinate to a non-service man. That, I presume, is a relic of old times which has little relation to things as they normally are. I think, it is, to say the least of it, unfair to our officers to be indirectly attacked in this fashion. They cannot obviously reply to such criticism and the tone of the service is affected. As head of the Ministry, I feel that not only am I responsible for anything that it does, but that I should protect the self-respect of those who serve with me in the Ministry.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. On 14 February 1949, Mahavir Tyagi asked Patel whether in accordance with the "Table of Rank and Precedence" the post of the Secretary General of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations was ranked higher than that of the Deputy Minister in the Ministry. He also asked whether according to the same table the Deputy Minister would rank below the Secretary General only for so long as Girja Shankar Bajpai occupied the post.

15. To B.V. Keskar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 15, 1949

My dear Balkrishna,

Thank you for your letter of today's date. I am very glad to learn that you were unaware of this question which Tyagi put.<sup>2</sup> I am afraid so many of our old colleagues cannot get out of the rut they have been in and act sometimes in a very irresponsible manner. This business of nagging away is neither good for us nor for the permanent officials. It merely creates a feeling of frustration all round.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See preceding letter, fn. 2.





11

POLITICAL PARTIES

I. Congress Affairs





1. To O.P. Reddiar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 29, 1948

My dear Premier,

I have received your letter of the 11th December. I am sorry for the slight delay in answering it. As you know, I have been away at Jaipur attending the Congress sessions.

I am sorry to learn that you have been laid up with fever. I hope you have recovered.

It is true that in the course of some remarks at a Congress Party meeting I referred to provincial administration and more especially the administration of Madras Province. The report which you have quoted, not quite accurate,<sup>2</sup> but in the main it is true that I said that all provincial administration had deteriorated in the past year or two for a variety of reasons. Further I said that this is especially noticeable in Madras Province. Apart from this deterioration, I mentioned that certain problems arose in Madras which seemed to me quite fantastic and they were peculiar to Madras.<sup>3</sup> We should not consider any general rule<sup>4</sup> in the Constitution from the point of view of particular happenings in Madras.

You will remember that when I visited Madras<sup>5</sup> I attended a Congress Party meeting and I spoke very explicitly about various allegations that were being made against party members and Ministers and hoped that nothing will be done to give colour to the allegations. Further, you may remember that a long and detailed complaint was made to the then Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad about happenings in Madras.<sup>6</sup> A

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. It was reported that Nehru had criticised severely the Madras Government's communal policy in the educational field and in recruitment to Government posts.

3. Caste rancour was thought to be particularly strong in the Madras Presidency.

4. In 1922 the Government of Madras had fixed quotas of job for different communities—such as out of seven, Brahmins two, non-Brahmins two, Harijans one, Anglo-Indians or Indian Christians one and Muslims one—by passing a Communal General Order. The order was revised in 1947 by raising the basis of distribution to fourteen. Meanwhile, some non-Brahmin communities demanded increased quota for backward classes and this aggravated caste feelings in Madras.

5. 24-26 July 1948.

6. Some Congress members of the Madras Legislature wrote to Rajendra Prasad on 26 April 1948 complaining against the Congress Government in Madras of corruption, indiscipline, vindictiveness against "Prakasam's men," devaluation of the judiciary by tampering with the court procedures, anti-Brahmin attitude, inefficiency and antagonising the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee by treating it with hostility. They added that "The masses of the people of the province are thoroughly disgusted with the Ministry and resentment is growing not only against the Ministry but also against the Congress itself as people are not able to differentiate between the two."

## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

copy of this was sent to me and I forwarded it to you. So far as you know, there has been no specific reply, but in your letter you mention that you sent a reply to the Congress President. I have not myself seen it.

I am not aware of any charge being made against you personally and I am quite sure that you did not accept the Premiership from any personal point of view. But I have had this feeling that the Madras Government works in a narrow groove and there can be little doubt that the reputation of the administration has gone down. The reasons for this are partly common to all provinces and partly peculiar to certain provinces. Madras has always occupied a high place in the efficiency of its administration and it seems to me a great pity that that standard should go down.

You would be right in complaining to me if I indulged in running down your administration without addressing you privately on the subject. As a matter of fact, I have studiously refrained from doing anything of the kind and what I said in the Constituent Assembly party meeting had little to do with the administration but rather with the conflicts that exist in Madras which I said were rather fantastic. I said so because the debate in the party meeting itself indicated how Madras politics were becoming more and more curious. I pointed out that this must not allow us to determine matters of principle in regard to the Constitution.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 2. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 29, 1948

My dear Pantji,

Some cases have been brought to my notice regarding public men in the U.P. As there is a great deal of whispering going on about corruption among Congressmen and other public men, I am taking personal interest whenever any *prima facie* charges are brought to my notice. I am therefore writing to you on this subject and shall be grateful if you will have an enquiry made.

2. One of these cases relates to Professor Krishna Chandra,<sup>2</sup> M.L.A. from Mathura and Chairman of Brindaban Municipality. He has been

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (1895-1986); imprisoned for long periods in the freedom movement; Chairman, Municipal Board, Brindaban, 1931-52; Member, U.P. Legislative Assembly, 1936; Member of Parliament, 1952-62; Member of Rajya Sabha, 1962-64.



charged with corruption and black-marketing in pamphlets published and widely distributed. Normally one would have expected him to take some steps against those who had issued the pamphlet. He did nothing of the kind. Thereupon I am told that the U.P. Government asked the District Magistrate for investigation and report. While this was proceeding, I am told that Professor Krishna Chandra was appointed Chairman of a Government Committee. This naturally puzzled the District Magistrate and he did nothing further in the matter.

3. Another report about Professor Krishna Chandra has come to me. A case was brought and decreed against him in a Munsif's Court and the Munsif called upon Professor Krishna Chandra to show cause why he should not be prosecuted for perjury. After issue of this notice and after the U.P. Government received intimation of this, he was nominated a member of the Agra University Senate.

4. I should like to know if these facts are correct, and if so, why the U.P. Government are showing favour to a person who has been publicly charged with serious offences.

5. I am told that two U.P. M.L.As<sup>3</sup> from Bulandshahr are being prosecuted by a private complainant for drawing travelling allowances on false certificates. The cases are pending against them in Lucknow and Bulandshahr Courts. It is not clear why a private complainant should bring these cases and not Government.

6. Another complaint is said to have been made to the District Magistrate of Bulandshahr in regard to the same two M.L.As, about collecting grains from cultivators for the Prantiya Raksha Dal<sup>4</sup> and not crediting the sale proceeds of the grains to that account. A Naib-Tahsildar, after enquiry, is reported to have stated that the allegations were true. Thereupon the M.L.As. sent for the Naib-Tahsildar and threatened him in various ways. The Naib-Tahsildar withdrew his report.

7. The complainants then are said to have approached the District Magistrate to undertake the enquiry which was started. Apparently pressure was brought to bear on the District Magistrate and the enquiry was dropped.

8. I should be grateful if you could kindly let me have full facts of these cases and have full enquiries made into all the allegations against these various people.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Banarasi Das and Balbhadra Singh.

4. An organisation set up in 1948 to give volunteers training in use of guns and arms. Also see, letter to the Premiers, 5 February 1948, *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, pp. 316-317.



### 3. To A.K. Azad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

4 January 1949

My dear Maulana,

I am very glad to read your statement<sup>2</sup> on the Turkish earthquake.<sup>3</sup> I have just sent a telegram to Rajendra Babu suggesting that he should send £100. on behalf of the Congress to Turkey. I hope it may be possible also for the U.P.P.C.C. to send Rs. 500.

As you know, I spent two days in the Punjab. I think it is felt urgently necessary that you should spend some days there as soon as possible. In spite of the complicated situation there, there are many hopeful signs and good material. I should have liked to see you before you went there. But I shall be away from Allahabad from the 6th to the 14th touring in Ali-garh, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur and Moradabad.

Yours affectionately.

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Azad stated that the Congress Party would like to send a small amount as a token of goodwill for the victims of earthquakes in Turkey.

3. There were earthquakes in Turkey in three successive years: 1946, 1947 and 1948. Anatolia and Erzerum Province suffered severe damage, killing nearly one thousand and destroying a number of villages.

### 4. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

4 January 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have just sent a telegram to you to the following effect:

"Suggest your sending one hundred pounds on behalf Congress to Turkey for earthquake relief."

I think that it would be a graceful act for the Congress to send a contribution to the Relief Fund in Turkey. The earthquake has been a terrible one and a gesture from us will be appreciated. It is not usual for the Congress directly to contribute to relief funds of this kind even in India. Ordinarily we start separate funds for the purpose. I feel, however, that an

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

exception should be made in this case. It will not be worthwhile to start a relief fund on behalf of the Congress. As you perhaps know Sikandar Hayat Khan has started a fund. It would seem as if we were competing with him. If you agree to my proposal, our contribution should be sent to the Turkish Consul General in Calcutta.<sup>2</sup> Before this is sent, an intimation should be sent to him by telegram and letter.

I have just seen in the press that you have sent a cable to the Turkish President.<sup>3</sup> I am glad of this. It is just possible that the U.P.P.C.C. might send a contribution of Rs. 500. I am consulting with my colleagues.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. F.L. Gresham, Acting Consul General for Turkey.

3. Ismet Inonu.

## 5. The Unfinished Tasks of the Congress<sup>1</sup>

The ideal of Swaraj which the Congress had set before itself under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi has to be attained. In the context of today Congressmen should ask themselves the question: "What was the Congress all these years? What is it today and whither is it going?"

Perhaps this examination would give them a proper perspective. During the last few years the country has gone through many difficulties. India became free but was partitioned. Millions of people have been uprooted and refugees remain to be rehabilitated. There is a small war in Kashmir and there are economic problems to be solved. Sitting in New Delhi, I and my colleagues have not had the same opportunity which once we had to feel the pulse of the country or to understand the many intimate problems of the people and to keep in close contact with the Congress organization. I doubt if there is the same dynamism today which the Congress had during the last twenty years.

1. Amalgamated version of speeches at Gujarat Vidyapeeth and Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad, 12 February 1949. From *The Hindustan Times* and *The Hindu*, 13 February 1949.

The Congress has a lot to achieve and must function as a disciplined and strong body to achieve its ends. It is today bereft of the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and his strength to attract people. So the responsibility of the Congress is now even greater. At no time did the membership of the Congress exceed five million. At the same time it cannot be said that the rest of the people of this country are either opposed to the Congress or that the Congress has not had, and did not work for the good of the rest. Today it is even more important for Congress workers to carry on their task to make India strong. They must realize what would happen if there was no Congress today. The cohesion which they have built up would be lost and the country would be disintegrated.

Cities like Ahmedabad, which produce textiles, have their problems. Congressmen should see that there is no profiteering tendency.

## 6. To B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15 February 1949

My dear Pattabhi,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have received from B.G. Kher, Premier of Bombay.<sup>2</sup> I must confess that I entirely agree with him. If each P.C.C. issues mandates like this, it would create an impossible situation. It would be bad enough if the P.C.C. of a province like the U.P. did it, but is far worse when Bombay with 4 P.C.Cs indulges in this kind of things. I hope you will write to the Maharashtra P.C.C. about it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. B.G. Kher had sent a copy of a resolution passed by the Executive Committee of the Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee on 22 January 1949, which said that the Bombay Government should postpone execution of "Greater Bombay Scheme" until the question of the United Provinces of Maharashtra had been settled. Kher felt that the proper course would be to let the Government decide their course of action after ascertaining the Provincial Committee's opinion.



## POLITICAL PARTIES

## II. Communist and Socialist Activities



## 1. To Gopichand Bhargava<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 23, 1949

My dear Gopichandji,

I am informed that a Socialist Conference which was to have met in Ludhiana has been banned by the East Punjab Government.<sup>2</sup> I do not of course know the circumstances and it is for you to judge with the facts at your disposal. But we are getting a very bad name for repressive activities and for preventing people who differ from us from functioning. What is worse this leads to trouble which makes the situation deteriorate still further. In Calcutta an unwise handling at the beginning led to serious consequences.<sup>3</sup> I would therefore, like you to bear all this in mind before you come to any conclusion about banning anything. I am greatly worried at the turn events are taking in the country and at the facility with which civil liberties are suppressed. Conditions are bad and we have to take special measures. But a time comes when such measures lead to greater trouble and the prestige of the Government goes down. You may have to meet a situation when the ban is defied.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. A socialist conference, scheduled to be held at Ludhiana on 25 and 26 January 1949, was banned by the East Punjab Government.
3. Calcutta witnessed widespread violence and destruction in 1948 and 1949.

## 2. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 24, 1949

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I have your letter of the 20th January about the firing in Calcutta.<sup>2</sup> I entirely agree with you that recent happenings in Calcutta are most disturbing. It is true, I think, that some Communists and others have been ex-

1. J.N. Collection.
2. On 18 and 19 January 1949, the police opened fire on student demonstrators protesting against police action against refugees from East Bengal squatting near the Sealdah railway station to meet the Prime Minister. Several students were killed.



ploiting the refugees. Actually, as you must have read, some kind of bombs were used by these people. Apart from the refugees there were others who were misbehaving in this way. Nevertheless, the whole thing was badly mismanaged by the West Bengal Government.

Unfortunately all our Provincial Governments are dealing with the situation far more from the point of view of law and order and less from other points of view involving the causes of the trouble. Both in regard to detention orders and banning activities they are most eager to use the repressive arm of the State. I have been continually warning them against it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 24, 1949

My dear Premier,

I need hardly tell you that we have been gravely concerned and greatly distressed by developments in Calcutta involving police firing and the death of some young men.<sup>2</sup> I have read the communiques<sup>3</sup> issued by the West Bengal Government and I have little doubt that certain mischief-makers are out to give the Government trouble and to create chaos. They exploit the refugees for this purpose.

Nevertheless it is true that this kind of thing damages the prestige of Government very greatly and there is a general feeling that Government is to blame for allowing such conditions to arise. The use of force and even firing becomes inevitable sometimes but much can be done before such a situation arises in order to obviate it. It is too simple a method just to repress various activities and then to think that we have solved the problems. I would beg of you and your Government to consider all aspects of this matter and to take such action as may soothe public opinion and demonstrate that Government does not use its apparatus for repression unless absolutely forced to do so by circumstances.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See preceding item, fn. 2.

3. In press communiques issued on 19 and 20 January 1949, the State Government gave their versions of the events and blamed the Communists for inciting students and others.

4. To B.G. Kher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 30, 1949

My dear Premier,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th January.<sup>2</sup> May I congratulate you on the excellent letters that you write, giving a full review of happenings in your province.

I am glad you are thinking of creating some machinery for the review of all cases of persons detained under public security measures. There can be no doubt that in existing conditions in India these public security measures are necessary. At the same time it is equally true that we have been subjected to a great deal of criticism abroad even from our friends, regarding these measures. Also we have to remember that it is difficult to fight ideas by repression alone. So we have to steer some kind of a middle course, the first consideration being the maintenance of peace and security. We have also, at the same time, to proceed on the economic front as far as we can go.

The recent decision of the Government of India to increase the dearness allowance by Rs. 10<sup>3</sup> must have created difficulties for you, as in other provinces. It was taken after the most careful and prolonged consideration. It was not taken as a result of the threat of the Railwaymen to strike. Indeed that threat rather prevented us from agreeing to this increase. On the whole, however, we felt that taking every matter into consideration, it was desirable to give the increase. I do not know whether this will result in preventing major strikes or not. If, however, a strike does occur in the Railways or in the Posts and Telegraphs services, in spite of this then we shall have to meet it with full vigour.

It seems to me that we must distinguish, so far as we can, between two kinds of opponents to our Governments. One kind is which aims at complete disruption and chaotic conditions regardless of the consequences. This is chiefly represented by the Communists and some minor groups. The other kind does not want this disruption or chaos, but nevertheless wants to create trouble for the Government and to exercise continuous

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Citing two cases, one of paying a bribe to procure an import license and the other of callous and inconsiderate conduct of some government officers in evicting a person from Government accommodation in favour of the person entitled, B.G. Kher wrote that in such cases "the line between civil liability and criminal offence is often obscure" and could not be ensured without thorough enquiry.

3. On 20 January 1949, the Government announced an increase of Rs. 10/- per month as dearness allowance for those Central Government employees whose basic pay was less than Rs. 250/- per month.

pressure. This is chiefly represented by the Socialists. To put it differently the Communists are completely anti-national and do not attach any importance to national interests as such and think only in terms of another country's external policy.

The Socialists, on the other hand, however bitter they might be against the Government and however irresponsible some of their actions might be, have got a nationalist background and do not wish to disrupt everything even if they could. Because of this difference between these two types of opponents, I think that we should also distinguish in our dealings between them. How we should do so is another matter which requires fairly careful consideration. The situation in the country is difficult enough in many ways and it is wiser not to add to our opponents.

You refer in your letter to the activities of the All India Students Federation,<sup>4</sup> which is an organisation dominated by Communists. The Federation has given us a lot of trouble in Calcutta and we shall have to watch it carefully. To some extent, the students generally have been behaving in a very irresponsible way. Two days ago at the Lucknow University Convocation I spoke strongly and frankly to them.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The students organization of the Communist Party of India founded in 1938.

5. See *ante* pp. 20-36.



POLITICAL PARTIES

III. R.S.S. and Akali Dal



1. To Shah Nawaz Khan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 11, 1949

My dear Shah Nawaz,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 5th January.

I think it is fitting that you should celebrate Netaji's Birthday on the 23rd January. I do not think it will be desirable for me to attend that meeting for a variety of reasons. If I go to a meeting and there are a number of other speakers, I am put in a somewhat false position. Statements may be made with which I do not agree or which may commit me. I cannot argue in a meeting or contradict people. Therefore, normally I do not go to any such meetings.

While it is right that you should hold a meeting and put before the public Netaji's ideal of unity, it would probably be harmful if speeches were delivered at such a meeting in regard to the R.S.S. agitation. This agitation is practically dying out and it is best to ignore it. Any attack on it in public might draw more attention to it and might lead to a controversy.

More particularly I think that Muslims should not deal with the R.S.S. matter at all in their speeches or otherwise. This may actually give a certain handle to the R.S.S. people. It should be left to the Hindus to fight the R.S.S., but so far as this meeting is concerned I would suggest to you that even the non-Muslims should refrain from saying much about the R.S.S. That movement is dying out through inanition and we do not wish to provide any fresh fuel for it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



## 2. To Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
8 February 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am greatly concerned about the developing Akali situation in Delhi.<sup>2</sup> For some time past I have been receiving many reports from private sources apart from official intelligence, which point to a steadily deteriorating situation. The Akalis are bent on trouble and are dragging the refugees and R.S.S. people in their wake. Open challenges are being made. The public meeting the other day brought some of these matters to a head and I had a feeling that the local administration was taken unaware or anyway was not prepared for what happened.<sup>3</sup> A study of intelligence reports would have clearly indicated that trouble was afoot. Master Tara Singh was here a few days ago and gingered up his followers.

It is clear that a major crisis is ahead. We may perhaps succeed in warding it off or one may have to meet it in full flood. I am anxious that our policy should be clearly laid down and every preparation made for carrying it through. No doubt you must be considering this matter. In view of its importance, however, it seems to me to be desirable that the Cabinet might consider it. There is a Cabinet meeting tomorrow.

Connected with all this is the East Punjab situation.<sup>4</sup> Probably it would be better to deal with this subsequently.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. *Sardar Patel's Correspondence, 1945-50*, Vol. 9, p. 116.
2. The Akalis were holding meetings in gurdwaras in Delhi to organise an All India Akali Conference on 19 February. Sikh students were being organised in a volunteer organisation through the Khalsa Naujawan Sabha.
3. The Delhi Provincial Congress Committee organised a public meeting on 6 February to deal with the dangers of communalism and provincialism. Soon after the meeting started there was disorder caused by abuse of the speakers and throwing of brickbats.
4. While Tara Singh was demanding a separate identity for the Sikhs, there was also a demand for the creation of a new administrative unit in East Punjab with a Sikh state as nucleus. Alternatively it was suggested that Gurgaon, an overwhelmingly Hindu district, should be separated from East Punjab to balance Hindus and Sikhs in the new province, and Punjabi, not Hindi, should be made the provincial language.

### 3. Akali Activities<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister referred to the deteriorating Akali situation and the open challenges to the authority of the Government by the Akalis, such as those contained in the utterances of Master Tara Singh, specially in his recent speech at Dehra Dun.<sup>2</sup> If the Akali activities led to any trouble, there was the danger of other organisations like the Rashtriya Swayam Sewak Sangh and the Communists being drawn into it. The situation, therefore, had greater potentiality for mischief than appeared on the surface.<sup>3</sup>

1. Minutes of Cabinet meeting, 9 February 1949. File No. 57/127/48, Poll., M.H.A.
2. On 6 February, at a public meeting in Dehra Dun, Tara Singh accused the "Patel-Patiala axis" of functioning against the interests of the Sikh Panth. He said that the nominations made by Patel in the formation of the PEPSU Ministry were mandatory and questionable. Tara Singh said that he would not tolerate "Patelism" in the Punjab and that he hated the Congress because of its policy with regard to the Muslims.
3. The Cabinet decided that Tara Singh's recent utterances should be examined with a view to prosecute him.

### 4. To G.B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 9, 1949

My dear Pantji,

For a long time past we have been worried about Master Tara Singh's activities. We have refrained from taking any action against him for various reasons. He has now become a public menace and I feel that action can no longer be deferred. The last speech he delivered in Dehra Dun appears, from such accounts as we have had, to have been particularly objectionable.<sup>2</sup>

The situation in Delhi has deteriorated in regard to the Akalis. So also in the East Punjab. I understand that Tara Singh is spreading his poison in parts of the U.P. also. In Delhi they propose to hold some kind of a

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See previous item, fn. 2.

conference on the 19th February. We are not going to allow this conference, though we may allow a *Dewan* in a Gurdwara on the understanding that it is non-political. It is quite conceivable there may be trouble because the Akalis are trying to get other disgruntled elements, like some refugees and R.S.S. people, to join hands with them. If there is trouble here, there may also be trouble elsewhere as in the U.P. or East Punjab about that time. I should like you to ask your officers to be vigilant and to take such precautionary steps as they consider necessary.

Regarding Tara Singh, I feel that we must not allow him to go about delivering the kind of speeches he has done. We should not like to intern him, if possible. We would prefer a public trial for a speech or other activity. *Prima facie* the speech he delivered at Dehra Dun is a clear breach of the law. I hope you will have it examined. I shall be grateful if you could send a copy of the report to me. If that speech is a breach of the law, then I think your Government should proceed against him. It would be desirable to do this before the proposed conference.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
11 February 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The Maharaja of Patiala<sup>2</sup> came to see me tonight. He has come to Delhi in connection with the athletic championship and will be here till the 14th morning. He was with me for over an hour and did most of the talking.

He said that he was greatly distressed at the state of affairs in the north, meaning East Punjab, where conditions had fast deteriorated and continued to go from bad to worse. People in authority there were chiefly thinking of the next election and trying to ensure that election by bringing their friends and other supporters into that area as settlers.<sup>3</sup> The whole of the

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Yadavendra Singh was the Rajpramukh of PEPSU and leader of the Panthic Durbar which was opposed to the Akali demand for a separate State for the Sikhs.

3. The Sikhs, after the migration from Pakistan, constituted 33.4 per cent of the total population of East Punjab. The resettlement of refugees in East Punjab converted seven districts into Sikh majority areas. They formed a substantial minority in other areas.



rehabilitation programme was looked at in this way and refugees were suffering greatly because of neglect. These refugees had spent a year and a half in very difficult conditions of winter and monsoon and the next monsoon will be terrible for them, if they are not provided for.

He said that six months ago Master Tara Singh had practically lost his influence, but he had regained a good deal of this because he was given the chance to do so and because of deteriorating conditions in the Punjab. It was easy for him as for others to make wild promises which responsible people could not counter with any like statement. The people in the Punjab were excitable and not too wise. They were a fine body of men who could be led astray. The position was bad enough now, but it would go far worse, if not taken in hand immediately. The time element was vital.

Master Tara Singh had got his knife into him and even threats of getting him killed had been made. Indeed Master Tara Singh said the other day that if Patel and Jawaharlal continued to come in the way, they should be disposed of. Tara Singh blurted out what was in his mind. Giani Kartar Singh was more cautious in his talk, but more or less functioned in the same way, and then there was Sardar Baldev Singh supporting them financially and otherwise.

I asked him why he had fallen out with Tara Singh and company.<sup>4</sup> He said that he could not say why except that Master Tara Singh could not tolerate anyone else having influence. He wanted to be the sole dictator of the Sikhs. He was very friendly with him some years back, then he parted company and then again he became friendly. As far as Giani Kartar Singh, he got elected simply because of his support and money. He could never have got in otherwise. Sardar Baldev Singh also got into the old assembly because of his support. Over a year ago Master Tara Singh, Giani Kartar Singh and Baldev Singh drifted away from him again. Master Tara Singh gradually became more and more violent in his speech, while others were more cautious.

As a Sikh, the Maharaja said, quite apart from his feelings as an Indian he felt that Master Tara Singh's policy was very harmful and he was distressed at the way Master Tara Singh had been allowed to continue spreading poison. Some four or five months ago, he was specially asked to meet Tara Singh and Baldev Singh. He did so. But Tara Singh right at the beginning got angry and matters ended there.

The Maharaja went on laying stress on the need for urgent action, lest the situation became worse. He did not say so, but I gathered that he would like some action taken against Tara Singh before this conference.

4. Tara Singh joined the Panthic Durbar Party briefly in January 1948 but resigned a month later.

He assured me repeatedly that he would carry out any directions given to him by us.

He informed me that some M.L.A. in Dehra Dun had invited him to go there to counteract Tara Singh's speech.

This was the purport of our conversation, or rather his monologue. As he was going away, he again laid stress on the very bad state of affairs in the East Punjab and the necessity for us to take fairly quick action.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

## 6. To Baldev Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 15, 1949

My dear Baldev Singh,

I received your letter of February 14th last evening on my return to Delhi from Gujarat.

I am not surprised that you are worried over the situation that has been created by the proposed Akali Dal Conference in Delhi. As you know, this matter has caused us great concern and, as you mention, I have repeatedly spoken to you about it. I avoided making public reference to the violent campaign that has been waged by certain Akali leaders because I did not wish to enter into an unseemly argument or to do anything which might worsen a bad situation. Obviously, however, we as a Government have to watch carefully every such situation which might give rise to trouble and to take necessary steps to avoid that trouble.

I must confess that I have been continuously surprised at the nature of this agitation as well as the nature of some of the demands put forward. You know that our feelings in regard to the Sikhs generally are of the most friendly character and we want them to play an important part in the life of the nation. Indeed they have played such a part and they will undoubtedly continue playing that part unless unfortunately there is conflict which is likely to injure their cause greatly. In a democratic society changes are sought for and made by peaceful methods and recourse to violence in speech or action is not only completely out of place but is dangerous to all concerned. I have found a continuous appeal to violence and this has made even the consideration of the subject more and more difficult and has

1. J.N. Collection.



roused bitter feelings among many people. As a Government we must avoid any such feelings or any partiality and must view every problem objectively and take into consideration the legitimate interests of all parties concerned.

The nature of the demands made on behalf of some of the Akalis has been two-fold. Some of these demands are obviously opposed to the basic principles laid down by the Constituent Assembly and the Government in regard to communalism. It is clear that we cannot go behind these basic principles without doing violence to all that has happened thus far and without learning from our bitter experience of the past. This point was brought out by the meeting of the Minority Sub-Committee. Another group of suggestions made are of a different nature which have to be considered on merits. These are chiefly provincial in character and some of them are in the nature of conventions which might grow up. Any convention that is agreed to by the parties concerned, and which is not opposed to a basic principle, can be adopted. These matters have to be considered in a peaceful and cooperative atmosphere and not under threats of violence. It must be remembered that if we once depart from strict impartiality, it means robbing somebody to pay somebody else and naturally this does not solve any problem as the past has shown us. Each individual and each group or community must have full justice done to it without infringing on the rights of others, or else a new problem arises. If this background is accepted then it is easy to find a solution to our problems.

The Sikhs are far advanced and a well-knit community who have played an important role in national affairs, more especially in the Punjab, and have gained the respect of others because of their discipline and enterprising spirit. There can be little doubt that in the future they have a great field for advance and the part they will play in the building up of free India will be a notable one. But unfortunately, there has often been a tendency on the part of some of them, happily not all, to try to isolate themselves by special demands and other means from the rest of the community. That seems to me peculiarly an unwise procedure because while attempting to gain some petty advantage they risk the far bigger position that they could hold in cooperation with others. As you know there has grown much bitterness in East Punjab and certain barriers seem to be rising between the Sikhs and others. There is a lack of confidence in each other which leads to less and less cooperation and more and more narrow-mindedness. That is bad for the nation. But it is even worse for a community relatively small in numbers, however well-knit it might be. It is this basic outlook that has to be considered by all of us to whatever group or community we might belong. India is forging ahead in many ways externally and internally and as India goes ahead, all the people of India and all the communities also go ahead. If there is internal conflict, however, even petty



gains by one community at the expense of another do not make much difference.

I would, therefore, very strongly advise our Sikh friends to consider this matter on this broader viewpoint which essentially is based on self-interest. Any other approach is bound to be harmful.

The proposed Akali Dal Conference in Delhi<sup>2</sup> has been heralded by widespread propaganda, by threats and by an appeal for Akali Jathas to come here. Now obviously this is the path of irresponsibility and it can only lead to trouble. That trouble can be of two kinds: one is a conflict with Government, the other is a widespread impression that Gurdwaras, which are sacred places of worship, are being converted into political meeting places and used as bases for aggressive activity against Government. Such a reputation for the Gurdwara is not a good one and lowers the high esteem in which the Gurdwara should be held not only by Sikhs but by all others. We have to keep our places of worship above the turmoil and conflict and politics.

I would personally advise very strongly that this proposed conference should be given up. Any religious *Dewan* can of course always be held in the Gurdwara. Any committee meeting to formulate political demands can also always be held privately anywhere. Normally public meetings and conferences can also be held for this purpose provided there is no danger of breach of the peace. At present in Delhi there is far too much tension for any such public conference to be held and therefore this has been stopped by the local authorities.

Because of the considerations I have mentioned above, I trust that nothing will be done to provoke a conflict. I can assure you that we have no desire to come in the way of peaceful gatherings in Gurdwaras meant for the purpose for which Gurdwaras are intended. I would strongly suggest, however, that the political aspect of this question should be separated from the other aspect. The best course would be not to hold the proposed conference in Delhi at this stage and consider the subjects at issue by other means. Any such step would be a sign of wisdom which will be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See *ante*, p. 418.

12

MAHATMA GANDHI





## 1. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 9, 1949

My dear Krishna,

You will remember the two pictures of Gandhiji, made by Clare Leighton, which I saw in London. One was an etching and the other a painting. Both were bought by Brailsford.<sup>2</sup> I wanted to find out the prices, but I have been unable to do so and I wonder if you can help in this.

There is going to be an exhibition of pictures and paintings of Gandhiji here in Delhi on the 30th January and I should have liked to have both these here. In any event I should like the etching of Gandhiji sleeping to be sent to me if possible. I should like to buy this myself.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. H.N. Brailsford.

## 2. The Message of Mahatma Gandhi<sup>1</sup>

Almost one full year has passed since the passing away of Mahatma Gandhi. The anniversary of his death, January 30th, should be solemnly observed all over the country as "Sarvodaya Day", a day specially dedicated to Gandhiji and the ideals he preached and practised throughout his life. On this day more particularly, the mind of the nation should be directed to Gandhiji's great message of unity and goodwill among all men and women through truth and non-violence. The day should be observed in a prayerful manner worthy of his sacred and living memory, and should include sacrificial spinning and social service. Public meetings may also be held. At this meeting the following message should be read out:

During her long history of struggle for freedom, carried on from generation to generation, India experienced both sorrow and fulfilment and many triumphs and defeats. But, under this superb leadership of the father of the Nation, sorrow was made to chasten and purify the people and every defeat was turned into an incentive for redoubled effort and a prelude to victory.

1. This resolution was passed at the meeting of the Congress Working Committee on 9 January 1949 on the first death anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi and published the next day. From *National Herald*, 10 January 1949.

Recent years have been a time of trial and difficulty, but again, the message of Gandhiji inspired the nation. These years have brought fulfilment in a measure, and the independence, for which generations had struggled and suffered, has been achieved. But the cost of that achievement has been heavy indeed, for the motherland has been cut in two, and following this ill-fated partition, madness descended upon the people and all the great ideals for which Gandhiji stood for seemed to be eclipsed. For the moment that darkness was illumined by the heartening message of Gandhiji, and innumerable sorrowing hearts drew strength and solace from it.

Then came the greatest blow of all, the assassination of him who was the embodiment of love and the gentle and unconquerable spirit of India. Thus the very achievement for which the Congress had laboured, and which was a culmination of long struggle, brought no glow of freedom but sorrow and dismay.

In reverent memory of Gandhiji and in homage to his teachings, the country faced these terrible crises, the greatest of which was the crisis of the spirit which had clouded India's mind and made her forget for a while the great lesson which the Master had taught.

A full year has passed since the passing away of him who brought freedom to the nation and gave life to it. On this first anniversary we pay homage to that great spirit and to his great message, and we resolve to continue the service of the people of India and humanity in the light of that life-giving message.

Having attained political freedom for the nation through non-violent action under the leadership of Gandhiji, we have now to labour for the attainment of social and economic freedom, so that progress and equal opportunity may come to all the people of India without any distinction of race or religion. This task requires a new and positive approach and a dedication to the service of the motherland in a constructive spirit.

The people of India have achieved independence, but to enjoy its fruits, they must discharge their responsibilities and obligations. We must remember that it has been and should continue to be our highest privilege to serve the people and to shoulder these responsibilities and obligations, and those who hanker after office or power by forgetting their obligations, do an ill service to the country.

It was the particular teaching of Gandhiji that service should be directed more especially towards promoting unity and goodwill between all the people of India, abolishing class distinctions and those based on birth or caste or religion, and working for a classless democratic society in a peaceful manner. Above all, the lesson he taught was the adherence, at all costs and in all circumstances, to the moral values which give meaning to life.



We will endeavour with all earnestness to face the difficulties and crises of today, both national and international in the light of that message, so that India may grow in freedom and moral stature and the great objectives which Gandhiji stood for may be fulfilled.

### 3. The Right Path<sup>1</sup>

Gandhiji was great not because he was good, not because he was a powerful man, but because he represented something mighty in mind and spirit, something that India has possessed for ages. It was something which we admired in him, and so long as that something is with us, it is well with us. And if that something goes, it will not be well with us, however, clever and however strong we might be, and however much we might strive to develop in other ways our physical strength. So let us remember that and try to the best of our ability to follow that path.

I myself am averse to statues being set up but if, acting with the times, we do it we must remember, while looking at them, the most important fact which I have just stated.

Portraits and statues of Gandhiji are useful in a way, in that they remind us what he had spoken. We had the privilege to meet Mahatma Gandhi, hear his voice, talk to him about our troubles and find relief.

I wonder what the future generation will think of this period of ours. They will think us greatly privileged to have lived at a time when this great soul was amongst us, to have touched him and seen his dancing eyes and to have heard his beautiful voice. I and most of us spent a good part of our lives with him through storm and trouble, facing great problems which were often enough to overwhelm us. I wonder also what might have been the fate of this country if he had not been here to guide us and give us his wise counsel.

It is not much good to consider the 'ifs' of history but the fact remains that he was here at a critical moment in India's history and steered the country and our people through the storms and brought them to the harbour. We failed him. He did not fail us. In spite of our failure he pulled us and pushed us in the right direction. So we think of him and are inspired by that thought and pay our homage to his memory.

1. Address after unveiling a portrait of Mahatma Gandhi at Calcutta, 14 January 1949. From *Hindusthan Standard*, 15 January 1949.



Above all, what we should do is to think always of what he wanted us to do, and what he would have liked us to do today. Always he laid stress on the right conduct and the right path just as Lord Buddha did. What he said was that we must follow the right path and the right means, and that it was never good enough to say that we meant well, that our objective was well and therefore our means might be good or bad.

How often we have failed in the past! How often, whether as individuals or nations, we have talked too much in terms of retaliation or of personal satisfaction in downing the other party. All the world is suffering from this fear and hatred of each other. Nations talk about war and prepare for war and cannot get out of the vicious circle. It is only by coordination that we can strike out on the right path and in spite of what is happening in the world today can come out of this circle. India, as an individual nation, has shown that violence is the wrong path.

If we look round the world we will find how the whole world is entangled in a mess today. We talk in terms of high ideals and blame each other for having started the violence. It would not matter who started first if the second person in the scene did not follow it up. So we arrive at this conclusion logically and scientifically that the only right path today, the only thing to do, for a nation, as for an individual, is to adhere to the rightness of conduct, being convinced that even from the narrowest viewpoint of self-interest this is the best path.

It has been stated in the *Gita* that those who do good to others never come to grief. It will be well if as an individual or a nation we remember this. Even though momentarily we may suffer, even though our minds may be crowded with troubles yet if we adhere to certain principles these troubles will gradually fade away and the principles will greatly succeed.

#### 4. Gandhiji's Way of Truth<sup>1</sup>

I have come to participate in a ceremony which is associated with the name of Mahatma Gandhi. In his lifetime Gandhiji had travelled from one end of the country to the other and spoken to millions of his countrymen. Today, that voice is silent. But his services to the cause of the country and the role he played in shaping the destiny of India will find their place, in letters of gold, in the history of India.

1. Address at the opening ceremony of Gandhi Ghat, Barrackpore, 15 January 1949. From *The Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, Special Supplement, 22 January 1949.

We can no longer see him or hear his voice; but surely as all of us must be aware, that voice today has found an echo in every heart in this country and abroad. It is that voice which guided us in all our actions, and asked us at every step whether we were performing our duties or living up to our professions, and we have all to answer that question. In her long history spread over thousands of years India has passed through many changes. Ups and downs there were, of course, and glorious periods of history, followed by dark days. But what a great age it must be in Indian history that such a great man was born amongst us.

I am generally opposed to the idea of erecting memorial temples and images. Gandhiji himself was also opposed to such an idea. But I like a simple memorial like the present Ghat which will be useful to the people. Here people of all communities should gather and take the pledge to follow his message in their daily life.

Along the banks of the Ganges sprang up empire after empire and rose new civilizations. It is said, that even thousands of years ago, large cities had grown up on her banks. The history of Indian civilization is a tale of the rise and fall of empires centering round the Ganges. And when foreign powers invaded India, they had to fight out the battle along the banks of this mighty river. Coming to more recent times, India was until some time ago under the British rule. The British, who ruled the country for 150 years or more, had their first foothold on the banks of this river and it was at this very place in Barrackpore that they had built their first Government House.<sup>2</sup>

The Ganges had also seen the rise and growth of the Indian national movement. It is only proper that the Gandhi Memorial Ghat should be constructed on the banks of the Ganges.

The history of India's recently acquired independence is associated with the achievements of a great man who was known to the world as Mahatma Gandhi and whom we knew as 'Bapu'. He was responsible for the end of a chapter in India's history and the inauguration of a new epoch.

Mahatma Gandhi was essentially not a politician. To him the main concern was amelioration of the condition of the common people. But this could not be done unless there was political freedom. The Mahatma, therefore, was forced by circumstances to take part in politics.

He worked for amity and unity among different communities. He knew that without unity the strength of the country would be dissipated in

2. Barrackpore, a military cantonment 15 miles up river from Calcutta, was established in 1775. The land and bungalows adjoining it were acquired in 1785 by the East India Company and became the country retreat of the Governor-General, the Marquess of Wellesley, in 1801. It was rebuilt on a grander scale in 1814. It is still being used as a centre of Indian armed forces.



fighting amongst themselves and India could not become great. He felt deeply for the so-called untouchables and wanted to improve their lot and raise their standard. He also emphasized the importance of his constructive programmes, implementation of which would make the people self-sufficient.

Gandhi had left the country a few *mantrams*. The first of these was that we should follow the path of righteousness. Secondly, he had asked us to try to lift the lowly and downtrodden, the 'Harijans' as Gandhiji used to call them, because he knew that if we let our brothers live in such wretched conditions we could scarcely talk of attaining independence. The third was constructive work, spinning and other activities by which he got everyone to work. The prosperity of the country depends on the amount of labour that the people can put forward. Fourthly, of course, he spoke of non-violence, and last but not least was Gandhiji's insistence on adopting the right means to achieve an end.

Gandhiji had always stressed that a good end must be achieved through good means. There should be no bitterness, no rancour, no recourse to falsehood in pursuing our aims. To Gandhiji the end did not justify the means so he pointed out that if unrighteous means were adopted to achieve a good end, the result would never be happy. On the other hand, if the aim, and the means employed were good as well, a happy result was sure to follow in the end.

India is now passing through a period of great crisis. High prices are prevailing, causing serious hardship to the people. It is only by following the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi that we can solve all those problems and make India great.

We must by all means increase production and for that we should avoid such actions as industrial strife and hartals. The Mahatma was a pioneer in labour organization in India and had founded a trade union at Ahmedabad,<sup>3</sup> which has now become very strong. He believed that the strength of the workers lay in unity. He favoured settlement of industrial disputes by negotiation and not by strikes.

Mahatma Gandhi infused strength of his countrymen amongst the poor masses. Frail in physique, how could he do this? He was a brave leader. He was not afraid of anybody in the world and bowed his head only before God. This was the source of his strength. If they could realise this, their strength would surely go on increasing.

Before all the people today, the great question is how to lift up the country. Only by following Gandhiji's lead and traversing the path suggested by him can India rise to her proper stature and solve the numerous baffling problems.

3. Mahatma Gandhi led the strike against the millowners of Ahmedabad in 1918. It was the first occasion when he fasted for a public cause.



## 5. The Lessons Gandhi Taught Us<sup>1</sup>

A year ago, I spoke to you from here (a year ago to a day and an hour) and announced to you that the light that had illumined our lives had gone out, and darkness seemed to envelop us. And now I address you again after you and I have shouldered the burden of this fateful year. That light had not gone out, for it shines more brightly than ever, and the message of our beloved leader rings in our ears, and yet often many of us, led away by passions and prejudices, close our eyes to this light, and our ears to that message. Let us today open our eyes and ears and hearts and think of him with all reverence and think above all of what he stood for, and what he wanted us to do.

This evening many of us, all over India, in city and town and village have heard the message of Gandhiji repeated, and we have pledged ourselves anew to work in its light. At no time was this message more necessary than in the distracted and disintegrating world of today. Again and again this world has tried to solve its problems by methods of violence and hatred; again and again it has failed and faced disaster. It is time, we learnt the lesson from our own bitter experience. The lesson is that, we can not ignore moral values except at peril to ourselves; that not by conflict and hatred shall we put an end to the ills of India and of the world, but by peaceful methods and co-operation and disinterested service of freedom and truth. We must promote unity and goodwill among all the people of India, and endeavour to abolish class distinctions and those based on birth or caste or religion. Even to those who may think ill of us, we have to stretch out the hand of friendship and win their goodwill.

To the nations of the world we say, we have no quarrel with any of you. We seek only your friendly cooperation in the great task of ensuring freedom and well-being to all the peoples of the world. We seek no domination or advantage over others, but we shall guard our own freedom at all cost and with all the strength in us. Our voice may be feeble today but the message it conveys is no feeble message. It has the strength of truth in it and it will prevail.

With this thought and pledge let us pay homage to our master and beloved leader who has left us and yet is so much with us. May we prove worthy of him and his message, and of India, our dear motherland to whose service we have dedicated ourselves again this day. *Jai Hind*.

1. Broadcast from New Delhi, 30 January 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.

## 6. Remembering Mahatma Gandhi<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Chairman,<sup>2</sup> Excellencies and Friends,

We have invited you to see this little exhibition; it is very little, and there is not very much really inside it to exhibit. We have collected in a hurry some pictures—some of them are moderately good, some of them are rather bad. Nevertheless, a collection has been made such as could be obtained almost immediately on the spot. There are some books which Gandhiji wrote. There are, what is more interesting, a number of letters, a number of copies of journals that he edited in his time, and some other things too, but all nothing very much to represent a person whose life was so extraordinarily full. You and I will see the exhibition with loving eyes and make an effort to refresh our memories by gazing at a few ordinary photographs of his beloved face and his smile which had won the heart of this nation and exercised such a powerful influence.

A real Gandhi museum could not only be fascinating, but would depict so many aspects of our national life. It would almost cover the history of India for the last generation or more. It is surprising, if you go into it, to find how many aspects of our national life he did touch and whatever he touched he did not touch casually but he went into it deeply, and whatever he touched he turned into something precious. So this is not a Gandhi museum by any means. That has yet to come, but then again it is rather presumptuous for any person to try to put in picture or stone or marble the spirit that was Gandhi. The real exhibition of the times in which Mahatma Gandhi lived would have to be an exhibition of the hearts and minds because they were powerfully influenced by him and his memory is engraved there.

He was not very much to look at, at least at first glance. Yet people know, innumerable people know, who have come under his influence, how tremendously fascinating he was. How his eyes gripped you and how his voice stole into your heart and your mind. For he was something more than just a good-looking or bad-looking individual. He seemed to be an idea embodied, a spirit and will in a feeble physical frame. And looking at him and talking to him one rather forgot that physical frame and only saw what mighty will and determination and spirit that lay behind it. How

1. Speech inaugurating the Sarvodaya Exhibition, New Delhi, 31 January 1949. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.

2. Kaka Kalelkar.



can we capture that or give it in picture or painting or in stone or marble? And yet that idea will prevail and will continue for a very long time, because, curiously enough, even history tells us that while thrones and empires decay and fall ideas continue and survive. There is something more powerful about an idea if it is a right idea, if it is an aspect of truth, which is more permanent than anything that human beings can otherwise make. So, no doubt, that idea will prevail and continue.

We have asked you here to see these few pictures just to remind you of this individual who played such a mighty part in India, in our personal lives, and, I believe, who is yet, though dead, playing a very great part in India and the world. You see that all these things, these oddments, are collected together here on a structure of straw which is rather symbolical of him. And I think you will agree with me that this little structure is good to look at. It is artistic, it is well made, though it may not be lasting. It represents his conception of what the village should be like—our village. For his mind was always thinking in terms of the innumerable villages of India, and the people who dwelt there, and he thought how not only to make their lives better, but also how to make their lives more aesthetic and artistic with the material they had. And so these straw structures gradually grew up here and there to symbolise that artistic village life. You will also see a little hut by the side of this straw structure. That is a copy of the hut Gandhiji lived in for many years at Sevagram near Wardha. It is an identical copy in size and shape and in outward look. You can form some idea, after looking at it, how he lived for many years, how simply and with the least of the conveniences that modern civilization is supposed to offer. That hut, of course, in Sevagram has become and will remain a historic and a sacred memorial to him for the people of India. Many of you may not go there. So, we have this little hut made here so that you might have some idea of how Gandhi lived in India.

He came to Delhi and stayed in the sweepers' colony where he preferred to live. And when that became difficult or impossible owing to other circumstances he lived in his friends' houses, which were much more palatial and big. It would matter little to him whether he was living in a sweepers' colony or in a palace. He carried out his own routine of life without changing the slightest whether he was in Delhi or Sewagram or in London city. His routine was the same. He did not change, nor did the outer environment affect him too much. That was a strange life, powerfully dedicated to the truth, and to the cause he held dear. All of us, who saw him, came under his spell, and little men and women as we were, his very shadow made us great to some extent. And even now his memory and what he told us inspires us and gives us strength when we might otherwise be weak. So we try to revive his memory with every little thing, though we cannot



see that smile or that gesture of his which was so characteristic. All his thoughts and ideas which he put before the nation will once again become fresh so that we may think of his basic teachings and try to walk on that path again.

So you and I are here to see this exhibition.

## 7. Following the Path of Gandhi<sup>1</sup>

I am thankful to the citizens of Ahmedabad for the affectionate welcome accorded to me. I am visiting the city again after over 10 years. In the meantime many things have happened and Mahatma Gandhi is no more. Today, last year, we consigned his *asthi* at the confluence at Prayag. His name is associated with Ahmedabad. This is a big industrial city known all over the world. But after a thousand years Ahmedabad will be recorded in history not as a city famed for its industry but one in whose vicinity lived a *Maha Purush* (great soul) whose name was Gandhi. His teachings were immortal and for all times. He lived in an ashram near Ahmedabad. I and others who had the privilege to work under Gandhiji consider ourselves exceptionally fortunate.

Though Gandhiji is no more, his teachings will remain true forever. We must all follow the path he had shown to us.

Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi the British domination of two centuries had been ended. India today is free. No doubt she has been partitioned and in the wake of partition came the great flight of population and all the misery it entailed. The problem of the refugees has not yet been solved satisfactorily. Then there are economic troubles; there are scarcity conditions. Labour is restive. Those who made money during the crisis wish to pile up more.

With the disappearance of the British overlordship our problems have not been solved; immense tasks lie ahead. Abundant manpower and vast resources of the country remain untapped. The potentialities of the country are great. Our ideal is to create a classless society where economic democracy can prevail. This can be attained only by all-round work. The need of the hour is to produce more.

1. Address at a public meeting at Ahmedabad, 12 February 1949. Based on *National Herald* and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 13 February 1949.

There is industrial peace in Ahmedabad, but in other cities there are talks of strikes by railwaymen, post and telegraph workers and others. I am not prepared to deny the right to strike. Strike as a weapon will continue to rest in the hands of labour so long as the present-day inequalities and other grievances continue. But today the Government which is their own, is working in order to augment the wealth of the country and is embarking on schemes, the cumulative effect of which will lead to a rise in the standard of living of the masses. This objective cannot be achieved if labour fails to play its part. Strikes at this juncture of our national life will be injurious to the country and retard progress. I would say the same thing about capital. The profiteering in textile and other commodities has put the masses to difficulty and earned the affluent classes a bad name. They have utilised the present crisis to amass more wealth. They should change their outlook and adjust themselves to changing conditions.

People complain against the Central and Provincial Governments. Mistakes have been made no doubt. But the troubles with which the country is faced today are by no means peculiar to India. There is trouble the world over. Despite our problems which remain to be solved, India today occupies a high status among the nations of the world. Due to her geographical situation, her potentialities, and manpower, India is bound to play an increasingly dominant part in the international scene.





13

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I. Policy Perspectives



1. To Loy Henderson<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 8, 1949

My dear Ambassador,

Thank you for your letter of January 8th.<sup>2</sup> It is totally unnecessary for you to feel that you had outstayed your welcome last night. I was very happy indeed to have this long talk with you which I hope has resulted in our understanding each other a little better. I entirely agree with you that it is of the utmost importance for India and the United States to seek to understand each other with a view to cooperation in as many fields as possible. Fate and circumstances have thrust a tremendous responsibility on the United States. Fate and circumstances have also placed India in a rather special position in Asia and, even though those of us who happen to control to some extent India's destiny today may not come up to the mark, there can be no doubt that the new India will go ahead. It may stumble often, but it has the capacity to stand up again and take some more steps forward.

For my part it is my earnest desire to develop close and friendly relations with the United States. Apart from any personal wish in the matter, any intelligent reading of what is happening in the world leads to that conclusion. It is true, as I pointed out to you, that India is different in many ways from the United States. Our backgrounds are different, our ways of life, generally speaking, differ, the mental climate in which we have lived and grown up is different. That I suppose applies to many countries and it is as well to understand and appreciate that. Even in India there is a great variety, though there has always been, and there is today, a strong and basic unity. The old approach to national problems in India has always been to recognise both the variety and the unity and thus to establish a certain balance. In the modern world because of the development of communications and so many other things, the unifying process is stronger. Nevertheless, the variety of psychological make-up of various people is tremendous. I feel often that it is this lack of understanding, or rather of emotionally appreciating, a different psychology and way of life, that leads so frequently to misunderstanding and conflict between peoples. Of course this is only one aspect of the matter and there are many others.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Henderson expressed his satisfaction over the long talk he had with Nehru on 7 January and thought it important both for India and the United States for "understanding and cooperation in many fields."



It was not only a pleasure to me to have our talk last night but, what is more important, it opened out fresh avenues of thought and understanding. For this I thank you.

Hoping to see you in Calcutta.

Sincerely yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. The Importance of Psychological Understanding<sup>1</sup>

It is obvious that India for historical, geographical, economic, cultural and for many other reasons is destined to play an important part in the affairs of South and South East Asia. India is so situated that even if we, some of us who happen to be in charge of the destiny of India, do not come up to expectation, even so these and other factors would have their way and make India play her part.

So it is not surprising that since India became independent, immediately her diplomatic standing went up and various countries of the world sent their eminent representatives to Delhi. In fact, speaking as the Foreign Minister of India, I say that one of my headaches has been how to find a sufficient number of people to send to countries with whom we want to build up diplomatic relations. Normally speaking, foreign relations of a country take a considerable time to develop. There are problems, such as the need of training of personnel. Well, we have had to start from scratch and we did not really have time to proceed gradually and slowly to build up our foreign service.

In spite of efforts to slow down the process we have to go ahead. Now, while we have our representatives in a considerable number of countries in Asia, Europe and America, still there are quite a good number of countries with whom we want to exchange representatives. But we are totally unable to send any one at the moment, because of the difficulty of trained persons for these highly specialised and qualified jobs. This is a question of time and in India we will get over this difficulty.

It is perhaps natural for a country like India—for a big country like India—to be absorbed in her own affairs, more especially after she has got

1. Address to Consular Corps, Calcutta, 14 January 1949, From *Hindusthan Standard*, 15 January 1949.

the handling of them. These affairs and problems are none too easy of solution. Indeed this may be said of any country of the world. So we are naturally absorbed in our own affairs and some people imagine that we think in terms of isolation. Well, we do not. Firstly, because it is just impossible for a country to be isolated. Secondly, we do not want to be isolated. We want to have the closest friendly relations with other countries of the world and to help in so far as we can, the development of understanding between these various countries and ourselves.

Now, a great deal has been said in the past about the Occident and the Orient, the East and the West and the like. I myself have not understood this and all that has been said. At any rate, I have not appreciated them. It is obvious that there are differences between countries, differences of historical background and difference of cultural traditions and so forth. But this business of difference between the Occident and the Orient I have not understood. I don't understand where the line is exactly to be drawn and how. There have been even in the past and now, centres of civilizations. If I may mention them, they are China, India and West Asia, all acting and interacting with each other with different historical background and yet with many common features. And in Europe and America too, you find these centres of civilizations; but the main difference has been the fact that for a hundred or hundred and fifty years certain countries in Europe and America have had an intensive career of development of industrialisation which has brought in its train many things and which has naturally accentuated this so-called difference between the Occident and the Orient.

It is not the nature of the Occident and the Orient to differ but the fact of industrial development and technical processes have naturally affected tremendously Western civilisations and it is affecting the Eastern civilizations also. Of course, there is the time-lag between them. The difference is not so much between the Occident and the Orient but as between the centres of civilizations, between areas that have often enough somewhat different psychological backgrounds.

There is far too much tendency today to think, even in advanced countries, about their own psychological background and not try to understand psychological backgrounds of other countries, with the result that in spite of complete knowledge of political and economic data they completely fail to understand each other. This is because understanding is something much more than memorizing facts of history and geography. Ultimately understanding comes from certain emotional appreciation of other people of how an individual or a nation functions. As a matter of fact, I may tell you there are so many people including highly qualified professors of history, who know all the facts and yet do not understand anything at all.



So, it seems to me to be necessary for the world today to have an emotional, psychological understanding of each other, regardless of the fact whether you accept that psychological outlook or not. Having understood that, the second phase arises.

It is not for you or for me to try to change the powerful psychological backgrounds of the nations, because a deliberate attempt to do so leads to conflicts which are totally unnecessary. As a matter of fact, all the forces of the world today are moving towards a certain uniformity. This is because of communications, wireless, radio, cinema, etc. There is this development of science. How far they will produce this uniformity I do not know. I think it would be a pity if the world became regimented to a single pattern. It will be a dull world then, an unprogressive world.

In India, if I may venture to say so, the whole background of Indian culture has been in the past,—I do not speak about the future,—an emphasis on the unity of India regardless even of political splitting up. And in the past political splitting in India has been considerable. But there has been much more cultural unity than political or even economic unity.

Together with the idea of unity there has been always an extraordinary diversity and variety in India and no attempt has been made in the past to put an end to that diversity. Provided the essential conditions of unity were acknowledged, that variety was not only tolerated but even encouraged. So, India had tried in the past and succeeded in maintaining certain unity in outlook and culture, at the same time maintaining variety of its different cultures in different parts.

I think in the larger context of the world while we are moving and must move towards the conception of world unity—you may call it the one world idea—at the same time it is even more essential that varieties should be maintained and acknowledged as such and no attempt should be made to regiment them to a single pattern. That is to say, we should have a psychological understanding of the other party. If that is done, many of our problems will be far easier of solution. There is far too much of misunderstanding today.

My life is a peculiar life. It is a very regimented life. I will have to go back to Delhi early tomorrow—I might mention, I should rather whisper,—to official Delhi. Other parts of Delhi I like but this official Delhi with which I am intimately connected for two years or more is not an ideal place for an individual to choose to live in. But we seldom get chances to do what exactly we want to do. I am afraid some kind of vital determination ties up us with various things but I have felt during the past two years how much a prisoner I am of circumstances, much against my will. I do not know how long I shall continue that way but I hope sometime or other I shall be able to function as I want to.



My stay in Calcutta is so very brief that it does not permit me to meet all the people whom I would like to meet.

### 3. No Secret Pact with Britain<sup>1</sup>

An old colleague of mine has stated that I entered into secret pacts at the Dominion Prime Ministers' Conference.<sup>2</sup> I have my shortcomings, but I have always worked in the open. I always take the people into confidence about what I do and feel. Even if I want to keep something secret, I cannot help blurting it out.

The suggestion that I have entered into secret commitments is absurd. I and other spokesmen of the Government have repeatedly declared our intention to steer clear of Power Blocs. We seek the friendship and co-operation of every country, but we shall not subordinate our foreign policy to that of any foreign Power.

The Socialist Party has raised objections to India's remaining in the Commonwealth.<sup>3</sup> Personally, I hold the view that our connection with the Commonwealth has not in any way affected our sovereignty. My experience of the last eighteen months has confirmed that view. I am, therefore, at a loss to understand why some people object to India having any connection with the Commonwealth.

India's connection with the Commonwealth is of an informal character and I think that when our Constitution is finalized this relationship will become more elastic. We have declared our policy on the issue at Jaipur. We are going to be a Republic.

We shall have unfettered freedom in shaping our domestic and foreign policy. If we can retain any link with the Commonwealth within that framework, we might do so, but such a relationship will be on the basis of complete equality.

My Socialist friends have the right to criticise my actions, but to proclaim that links with other countries, based on treaties, will in any way detract from our sovereignty is wrong.

1. Speech at Ramlila Grounds on 26 January 1949. J.N. Supplementary Papers, N.M.M.L., and *Indian News Chronicle*, 27 January 1949.
2. Speaking at Calcutta on 23 January Sarat Chandra Bose had made this allegation.
3. The Socialists said that as Britain had joined the North Atlantic power bloc of the U.S. against the Soviet Union, non-alignment would become a farce if India were to retain her ties with the British Commonwealth.

It would be idle to boast that we can carry the world with us. It would be equally dangerous to think that our country is weak.

India is one of the most powerful countries. We are definitely going to play an increasingly important part in the counsels of the world. Strength does not lie in making fiery speeches or throwing up challenges. We have to frame a foreign policy, keeping in view many factors.

I can say with all the emphasis at my command that we are absolutely free in conducting our international affairs. It is wrong to suggest that some other country is dictating our policy and that we are submitting to such dictation out of fear.

Take the case of the Indonesian Conference. The idea of holding the Conference was mooted by the Burmese Prime Minister, Thakin Nu. None of the Big Powers was consulted regarding the holding of the Conference.

I am glad to say that 18 out of 19 countries to which invitations had been issued sent their representatives to the Conference and that the only country that did not accept the invitation also extended its sympathy with the objects for which the Conference was held. The Turkish Press devoted considerable space to the Conference.

Regarding the Commonwealth there was a free and frank discussion at the Prime Ministers' Conference in London. We discussed economic and military matters. I did not make any commitments restricting India's liberty of action in the event of a war. There are some independent countries that are independent only in name. We are not in that category. We can move our hands and feet, but it does not mean that we should hurl them about like mad people. If we do so that will lead us to disaster.

The Foreign Affairs Department is being maligned by a section of the press. I do not claim that every action of mine was correct. But when people criticise the Foreign Affairs Department, they should not forget that we started from scratch. The progress that we have made is phenomenal. Our Ambassadors are respected for their ability. They are among the few top people in the countries in which they represent us.

We have left our mark in the United Nations. Our advice is highly valued as we have no imperialistic designs against any country.

Our greatest wealth is the fine human material that we have got. The young men who have joined the Foreign Service in India have impressed me as a promising set. They are definitely going to make first-class diplomats.

The few people at the top cannot shoulder the burden of carrying on the Government of such a vast country. Those like me who are at the helm of affairs are not going to live long. Our country needs thousands of first-class people of high calibre and character. I am glad to say that even the girls who have joined our Foreign Service are doing excellent work.



We must not forget the martyrdom of those who fell in the fight for freedom. I think that to view things in their proper perspective we must not only look into our past but have our eyes on the future also. The future historian alone will say whether and to what extent we have proved equal to the task entrusted to us. The one thing that we have learnt from Mahatma Gandhi is that we should not get disheartened by failure. India is a powerful country and cannot easily be subdued.

I would like to warn Congressmen against complacency. The task of running a Government is a complicated one.

Those who have to administer should not think in terms of repose and dividends. They should think that they have been sentenced to hard labour.

As far as the economic situation is concerned, if production falls, all, including the workers who go on strike, suffer. I admit that the right to strike is an inalienable right of labour. But I would like all disputes between labour and capital to be settled through impartial arbitration.

I would also like to warn the Railway and Postal employees against the danger of inflation. We could easily print more currency notes, but if we did so, the paper currency would become worthless. I admit that there are black sheep among the millowners who have made money through unfair means. The Government is taking measures to force them to disgorge their ill-gotten wealth.

We want to take strong measures to fight inflation; but we have purposely avoided drastic steps so far. The whole world is in the grip of an economic crisis.

I am happy that the R.S.S. satyagraha is over. A large number of children have joined the movement. We cannot afford to be angry with the children, but big problems cannot be handled in a juvenile spirit. There are some unexceptionable things in the R.S.S. ideology with which we are in complete agreement. We agree on the need to make our country great. We also recognize the greatness of our country's culture.

What I object to is the narrow-minded approach of the R.S.S. to big problems. I warn you that the R.S.S. ideology will lead to internal disunity.

The Indian Army is a first-class army. Many foreign military observers have praised the great fighting qualities of the Indian Army. The Kashmir campaign has proved their mettle. They have gained valuable experience on the battlefield. When the British left, the army had very few officers who had any experience of conducting war operations. Our officers got rapid promotions. The fighting in Kashmir has convinced us that our senior officers are first-class tacticians and strategists.

I must emphasize the need for harnessing India's vast potential resources. The Himalayas are a great reservoir of mineral resources.



It is easy to prepare a list of our unsolved problems, but while drawing a balance-sheet you must not forget our achievements. The problem of Indian states has been solved and the millions of refugees are being rehabilitated.

In all our efforts, Gandhiji will always remain our guide.

#### 4. Problems of Foreign Policy<sup>1</sup>

At the outset the Prime Minister mentioned that it was his intention to call meetings of the Standing Committee more frequently, possibly every fortnight, during the current Session of the Constituent Assembly.

To a question in regard to the method of selection of Heads of Missions and whether the Standing Committee could be associated in this selection, the Prime Minister explained that this was not practicable.

Discussing the riots in South Africa,<sup>2</sup> the Prime Minister explained that the figures of casualties mentioned in the memorandum were the official figures given out by the Government of the Union of South Africa. The figures of casualties among the Africans were higher; these, however, had not been caused by Indians but by the armed forces of the Union of South Africa. The Prime Minister regretted the deterioration in the relations between Indians and Africans in Durban and added that, apart from Durban, relations between Indians and Africans in other parts of South Africa were also strained. In refreshing contrast, a good deal of cooperation between Africans and Indians was noticeable in East Africa, where our Commissioner<sup>3</sup> had been working to this end.

In reviewing the work of the Delhi Conference on Indonesia,<sup>4</sup> the Prime Minister said that the Government of India were now waiting for the Security Council to meet and decide on the action that they would take against the Dutch who did not appear to have any intention of complying with the Security Council's resolution on Indonesia. He said that it was

1. Nehru's remarks at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Legislature for the Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, 10 February 1949. File No. 34/48/OST., corr. M.E.A.&C.R., N.A.I. Extracts.

2. Durban riots. See p. 482.

3. Apa B.Pant.

4. See section 2, pp. 169-172.

unlikely that the Security Council would put up with this studied defiance. Also he had reason to believe that the Government of the United States was dissatisfied with the conduct of the Netherlands Government, and would bring pressure to bear on them to fall in line with the directions contained in the Security Council's resolution. The British Government did not appear to feel as strongly about this matter, partly, no doubt, due to their anxiety to retain goodwill and cooperation in Europe. Meanwhile, reports indicated that the Dutch were busy setting up puppet States in Indonesia. The Prime Minister said that the Government of India were in touch with Mr. Shariar and other Indonesian leaders, and had been acting as the channel of communication between them and their representatives abroad. The Government of India had sent copies of all resolutions passed at the Delhi Conference to the Government of the participating countries and, in the light of developments, would consider whether another Conference should be called for, say about the 15th March to consider what further steps should be taken in the matter.

The Prime Minister reviewed the position in French possessions in India and referred to the statement<sup>5</sup> made by him in Parliament in which he had given an assurance to the people of French India that their administrative, cultural, educational and judicial systems, which were different from those prevailing in the rest of India, would not be prejudicially affected by any change-over in the political status of these territories. In describing the policy of the Government of India in regard to these possessions, the Prime Minister said that the next step to be taken by the Government of India would be determined by what the French Government and the French Indian leaders decided to do.

In opening the discussion on the subject of Kashmir, the Prime Minister said that the Government of India had been obliged to publish the proposals presented by the Commission to the Governments of India and Pakistan on 11th December 1948 as well as the aides memoire of the discussions between himself and Dr. Lozano on the 20th and 22nd December 1948.<sup>6</sup>

The aides memoire served to clarify certain points in the proposals made by the United Nations Commission and in the earlier resolution of the Commission. They had been accepted by the Commission as correctly interpreting the points raised therein and India would take her stand on

5. Nehru's statement in the Constituent Assembly, 8 March 1948, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 5, pp. 495-507.

6. Between 20 and 22 December Alfred Lozano and Erik Colban, personal representatives of the U.N. Secretary General, visited Delhi and Karachi to discuss with the Indian and Pakistan Governments proposals to supplement part 3 of the Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948. See pp. 219-224.

this interpretation. The Prime Minister referred to the statements made subsequently by the Pakistan Government which *prima facie* conflicted with the accepted interpretation. We had however purposely avoided entering into a public controversy with the Government of Pakistan and were awaiting the arrival of the United Nations Commission in Delhi when these points would be taken up with them.



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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

II. Bilateral Relations



## I. BURMA

1. Closer Relations with Burma<sup>1</sup>

I send my good wishes to the All Burma Indian Conference.<sup>2</sup> Both India and Burma are facing difficult times. I am sure, that however, both these countries will overcome their present difficulties. It must always be remembered that it is essential in the interest of both countries to have the closest and most friendly relations with each other. Even if differences arise these differences must be looked upon as family differences and every effort should be made to resolve them in friendly manner. Indians must remember to function as the free citizens of a free country closely allied to another free country with whom we wish to have these close relations. If they have any difficulties they must face them with fortitude and courage.

1. Message to All Burma Indian Conference, 20 December 1948. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. The All Burma Indian Conference, held in Rangoon from December 25 to 29, 1948, was organised by All Burma Indian Congress, the leading Indian organisation in Burma.

2. India and Burma<sup>1</sup>

I am glad to learn of the formation of the "Friends of Burma Society" to foster better relations between India and Burma. It is inevitable that India and Burma should cooperate together for their mutual advantage and we must not forget this fact even though we might have occasional differences. Therefore, it is a good thing for a society of this kind to be formed and I wish it all success. It is fitting that it should celebrate the first anniversary of the Independence of Burma and I send it all my good wishes on this auspicious occasion.

1. Message to the Friends of Burma Society, New Delhi, 31 December 1948. File No. 9/37/49-PMS.
2. The Friends of Burma Society was formed in Rangoon in December 1948 to bring about closer understanding between the Indians and other people living in Burma.



### 3. To Gopinath Bardoloi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 25, 1949

My dear Bardoloi,

I have had an interesting conversation with our Ambassador in Burma regarding the Burma-Assam frontier. Our Ambassador is very well acquainted with conditions all over Burma and his contacts are numerous. His opinion therefore is of value.

First of all he told me quite definitely that there was no communist trouble at all within several hundred miles of the Burma-Assam frontier. This communist trouble is largely concentrated in Central Burma and has practically been controlled. The real difficulty in Burma at present is not due to the Communists but the Karens who want a separate State.<sup>2</sup>

On the other side of the Assam Frontier is the big State of Kachin and lower down the Chins. In both these States there has been no communist trouble of any kind. The Kachin State is specially interesting.<sup>3</sup> It contains most of the fighters in the Burmese Army and the Kachins are generally friendly to India. This state is semi-independent, though part of the Union of Burma. Their ruler has been great admirer of Gandhiji<sup>4</sup>. He is at present a member of the Burma Government. He is very anxious to have direct contacts with India, which means with Assam. For economic reasons as well as cultural reasons he is anxious to have these contacts. The Kachin State is so far north of the rest of Burma and transport is so bad that the produce of the State cannot easily go far. This produce is chiefly rice and it can be increased considerably provided there was market which was accessible. The natural market would be India via Assam. The difficulty at present is the lack of proper roads. The Ledo Road connected the Kachin area to Assam.<sup>5</sup> But since this road has been neglected on the Assam side, it cannot be used. On the Kachin side the road is kept in good condition right upto the border.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See section 8, letter of 3 February, fn.3.

3. The Kachin State with an area of 34,379 square miles, has high mountains in the north while southern part is hilly with vast stretches of flat country. The Kachins fought the British for their independence separately from the rest of Burma and had representatives in the Government of Burma.

4. Sima Duwa Sinway Nawng, the head of the Kachin State, was a great admirer of Gandhian non-violent satyagraha.

5. Ledo Road later called Stillwell Road stretching 1964 km. was built during 1942 to 1944 to link India and Burma during World War II. The Road was abandoned in 1945 and was in a bad state.

I do not know what the condition of the Ledo Road is on the Assam side. I believe we decided to let it deteriorate and not use it. In view of what I have written above, it is worthwhile considering the question of keeping the Ledo Road in good condition so as to make it an artery for trade and commerce with the Kachin area.

The fear that people may come from Burma to India via this road does not seem to be justified, as the North Burma area is very sparsely populated and the tendency might well be for people to go from India towards Burma.

I am writing to you rather briefly on this subject now, because I should like your Government's reaction to what I have written. I hope to get further information from Burma on this subject.

There is another aspect to this question, the Defence aspect, which also might lead to the conclusion that the Ledo Road should be kept in good condition. But for the present the food aspect seems to me to be important. Also it is desirable to have closer contacts with Kachins of Upper Burma. This would be good for us in view of possible developments in the future on the China frontier.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. Efforts at Settlement in Burma<sup>1</sup>

I do not know if you have seen the enclosed messages about Burma.<sup>2</sup> I suppose we cannot take any objection to a visit to India of Arthur Bottomley, the U.K. Secretary for Overseas Trade. But before we can come to any decision ourselves, would it not be desirable to communicate informally and rather vaguely with Thakin Nu and his Government? Our Ambassador is still, I believe, in India, though he is expected to reach Rangoon on the 1st February or thereabouts.

1. Note to Secretary General, M.E.A. & C.R., 29 January 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. In these messages, Attlee informed Nehru of Bottomley's forthcoming visit to India in February 1949 to attend a conference in connection with trade and commerce where Evatt, Australian Minister for External Affairs, would also be present. Attlee wanted that Nehru should organise an informal Commonwealth Conference in New Delhi to discuss the Burmese question and "exploring ways and means of finding a peaceful settlement."



Perhaps we could send some brief reply immediately to Attlee saying that we would gladly participate in the conference suggested to be held in Delhi.<sup>3</sup> Further the conference should deal with questions connected with trade, etc., as suggested by him. But before such a conference is decided upon, we should like to get the reactions of the Government of Burma ourselves. In fact Attlee suggests such an approach by the British Ambassador to the Government of Burma.

In any event Bottomley could come here.

I should like to have a talk with you on this subject tomorrow, either at your house or here. I could visit your house on my way back from Rajghat.

3. The Conference, held in New Delhi on 28 February 1949, of the representatives of Britain, Australia, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, declared a consensus opinion that "peace and prosperity can be restored to Burma primarily through conciliation."

## 5. To B.N. Rau<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 30, 1949

My dear B.N.,

Thank you for your letter of the 28th January about Indian citizenship for persons of Indian extraction in Burma.<sup>2</sup>

I feel that the examples you quote do not really apply. Conditions created by the partition of India have no other parallel, so far as I know. Undoubtedly these Indians abroad, whether in Burma or elsewhere, have been until now Indian citizens. Now the first choice they have to make is to become Burmese citizens or not. If they choose to become Burmese citizens (and this applies to other countries also), then the matter ends there. If not, then they either have to become Indian citizens or Pakistan citizens. We are allowing many persons, who normally would be Pakistan citizens, to become Indian citizens. It is true that they do so by migrating

1. Constituent Assembly of India, Constitution Section, File No. CA/10/Cons/49, Ministry of Law.
2. Pointing out the difficulties of Indian citizenship for those whose ancestors were born in areas now in Pakistan, Rau stated: "In spite of having no connection with India they desire to become Indian citizens at once by some special process, e.g., by registration at the Indian Embassy in Rangoon, coupled perhaps with an oath of allegiance to India." That could lead to difficulties in regard to international law and Pakistan might also try to do likewise."



to India. Nevertheless I do not see any major difficulty in allowing the same choice to Indian citizens overseas. That choice should not be given to people in Pakistan or India. That is to say Pakistan cannot start enrolling its citizens in India, nor can India do that in Pakistan. But in countries overseas, where their old nationality of undivided India has been shaken up by the partition and other developments, they ought to be allowed this choice.

In fact we have instructed our representatives abroad to treat every Indian there as an Indian citizen for purposes of visas, passports, etc., provided he expressed a desire to be so treated and makes a declaration to that effect. This of course is a temporary expedient. We have added a saving clause in our instructions. If a person definitely functions as a Pakistani, that is, attacks India and speaks for Pakistan, then he should not be considered an Indian citizen, even though he may want to be so considered. There are such cases because Pakistan has not got many agents abroad and therefore many Muslims look to the Indian Mission there for help and at the same time criticise India.

I should imagine that Pakistan will have no objection to this procedure. We might indeed put it to them that citizens of undivided India in overseas country might be asked to choose their nationality as between India and Pakistan. It being up to either country not to accept a particular person as a national. This is a perfectly fair way of proceeding. More or less this is what you suggest.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Ambedkar.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. Cable to M.A. Rauf<sup>1</sup>

Please convey the following message to Thakin Nu.

As you can imagine, we have been watching the situation in Burma with anxious solicitude. Our fraternal ties with people of Burma make it natural that we should wish them to develop, in peace, their prosperity and strength. A peaceful and strong Burma must be a bulwark to India. With

1. New Delhi, 10 February 1949, J.N. Collection.

events shaping as they are in China and certain parts of South East Asia, e.g., Malaya and Indonesia, the stability of Burma becomes all the more important, not only to the security of India but of Asia as a whole. I believe that, under your wise leadership, Burma can recover both stability and peace. I have watched, with admiration, your efforts to control the situation. As a friend, I now venture to ask you whether there is any practical way in which the Government of India and her people can assist you and the people of Burma to put an end to the present strife. I am aware that the U.K. Government are likely to, or may already have, offered help.

My approach to you is entirely independent and on a different basis. In what form, if any, you would like us to help is entirely for you to decide and I hope that you will speak to me frankly. Between us, there must be no reserve, specially in the present crisis. At this stage, I shall only say this. The authority of your Government must, of course, be restored. But one of your humane understanding will appreciate that the sword alone cannot resolve a human problem. The victory of force leaves behind a legacy of bitterness which ultimately yields only to conciliation. Perhaps, in the task of conciliation, we may be able to serve the people of Burma and you best. But this is only a suggestion. I shall be happy to consider any suggestion that you may care to make. In conclusion, let me assure you that whatever you say will be treated with the utmost confidence.<sup>2</sup>

2. As you will observe from above, it is mediation between Government and Karens that we have in mind, not financial or military help. But, unless the Karens and their associates are also ready to accept it, it will not avail. We should, therefore, particularly welcome your comment on the possibility of contacting Karen leaders who would listen to counsels of peace and who have enough influence with their own people to induce them to do likewise. Such contacts would, of course, become necessary only if Thakin Nu is prepared to accept mediation. Without his consent no such step can be taken and you should sound him informally on this point.<sup>3</sup>

2. Message to Thakin Nu ends here.

3. Rauf replied on 24 February that Thakin Nu, though grateful to Nehru for offer of assistance, was determined that the only terms the Burmese Government would accept was unconditional surrender of the Karens.

## II. MALAYA

1. Indian Labourers in Malaya<sup>1</sup>

Shri Budh Singh<sup>2</sup> gave me the attached memorandum.<sup>3</sup> I understand he gave you a copy of it too.

I should like to know what, if any, steps you have taken in regard to this memorandum. I think we should move in the matter, both in regard to the general condition of Indian labour in Malaya and the repression of such labour during the recent troubles. Our representative in Singapore should be asked to confirm the statements made and to give us such other facts as he may have. We might also write on this subject to the U.K. Government.<sup>4</sup>

1. Note to Additional Secretary, 9 January 1949. File No. 56-1/49-OSII, M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. President of the Malayan Indian Congress, 1947-50; leader of the Malayan Indian delegation to the Jaipur Session of the Indian National Congress in December 1948; visited India in 1950.
3. The memorandum stated that the planters and businessmen in Malaya were working in collusion with the Government to deny Indian labourers "the right of a united labour front." Indian labourers were financially discriminated against and harassed and, though not connected in any way with terrorism and the industrial unrest prevailing in Malaya, were subjected to detention and unfair treatment. The memorandum suggested several measures to be taken by the Government of India and finally asked for an Indian officer to be stationed permanently in Penang to deal with the issue of permits and passports for Indians in Malaya.
4. No effective arrangements could be made to safeguard the interests of Indian labourers with immediate effect.



## 2. To Stafford Cripps<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 17, 1949

My dear Stafford,

Thank you for your letter of the 7th January.<sup>2</sup>

I entirely agree with you that in India, Burma and Ceylon the U.K. Government has acted generously and with vision.

If I wrote to you about other places, it was not with any desire just to criticise the British Government but to point out certain powerful trends of opinion in India and, I believe, elsewhere. In regard to China, I do not think the fault in any way lies with the U.K. Government. Undoubtedly the Chinese Government is most to blame for all subsequent developments.<sup>3</sup>

About Malaya I do not for a moment doubt the *bona fides* of the British Government's policy there and the difficulties they have to face.<sup>4</sup> But I do feel that the positive side of approaching a problem there, that is to say the betterment of political and economic conditions, has not been emphasized. There is no doubt that there is a terrorist communist element there which is at the back of all the trouble. What I am worried about is that a good deal of public sympathy from non-Communists goes to them. Otherwise they just could not function for so long. This sympathy goes to them partly because of economic conditions, and partly because a considerable number of totally innocent people have suffered by the police and military action. It is difficult in such circumstances always to protect the innocent. But one has always to bear in mind that repressive action may

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Stafford Cripps defended British policies and actions in Burma, Sri Lanka, Indonesia, China, Malaya and also India. On Burma he wrote, "we have managed to give Thakin Nu a great support", and in the case of Indonesia he protested that "you must not suggest that we are behind the Dutch in their actions." The British Government had advised the Dutch to settle the issue with the help of mediators. In China, the British Government had suggested to Chiang Kai-shek to take a "more democratic and enlightened line", which he failed to do. In Malaya their policy was "coming on to right lines." Commending Nehru's handling of the Kashmir problem, Cripps wrote that on the Commonwealth issue they would soon find the solution; "we are all working at it with a will to succeed and a very intense desire to see India a full member of the Commonwealth."

3. From November 1948 to January 1949, the Nationalist Government in China fell back in face of Communist offensives. General Li Tsung-jen, the acting President who succeeded Chiang Kai-shek wished to negotiate peace with the Communists.

4. The Malayan Communist Party, after it was banned in July 1948, mounted continuous guerrilla warfare, killing and wounding European and Chinese managers of plantations and officials in mines. British, Gorkha and Malayan troops initiated counter operations.

result in evoking sympathy if it is not limited to the object in view. Indians in Malaya have on the whole kept quite apart from this trouble there and from Communists. Nevertheless they have suffered a good deal and, I am told, that their normal trade union activities have also been prevented in various ways. The conditions of Indians in Malaya have been bad for a long time and have compared very unfavourably with Chinese labour.

As for Indonesia, again I do not doubt the desire of the U.K. Government to prevent conflict there and to find a solution. But the fact remains that there has been a failure somewhere and the Dutch have behaved in a very bad way in fanning passions all over Asia. Whether it is possible to prevent this by a stronger attitude on the part of the U.K. and the U.S.A., you can judge best. In the result the U.K. and U.S.A. policy suffers a setback. It is right for a mediator to try to hold the scales evenly but a mediator must also be quite clear as to what is right and what is wrong.

I am anxious to settle the Commonwealth issue as soon as possible. I do not know what more we can do at this end at the present moment, as we sent our suggestions some time ago to your Government. I do not think that a legalistic approach to this problem is going to solve anything.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

### 3. The Indians and the Communists in Malaya<sup>1</sup>

I have gone into this matter of Indians arrested in Malaya for alleged communist activities being deported to Madras, and then being kept in prison in Madras for interrogation.<sup>2</sup> The Home Secretary's note describes the mechanics employed in these cases. This really consists of reports from British intelligence in Malaya and acting upon them immediately. Subsequently there is an interrogation.

2. This complete reliance in regard to Indian citizens on British intelligence reports seem to me a wrong procedure. As a matter of fact our Representative in Malaya has informed us of the deep dissatisfaction caused by this

1. Note to Additional Secretary, M.E.A. 25 January 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. In December 1948, 31 Indians were arrested in Malaya on the charge of being involved in communist activities and were repatriated to Madras at their request. All of them were arrested as soon as they landed in Madras.



in the Indian community in Malaya. It is fairly well known that the British authorities in Malaya have functioned in a most unsatisfactory manner and their activities have been criticized in England. They have not distinguished between active Communists and ordinary trade union leaders. We have taken objection to this, so far as Indians are concerned and have pointed out to the British Government that the way they are proceeding in Malaya is actually worsening the situation there. Indeed the way the British Government have handled the Malayan situation is an example of how not to do things. It is extraordinary that after seven or eight months of active repression they have not succeeded in putting down, what according to them is a revolt of a limited number of Communists. Reports reach us that large numbers of innocent persons have suffered, whole villages have been destroyed and in spite of this the Government is hardly in control of the situation. The reasons are both political and economic, and there is obviously a great deal of anti-Governmental feeling there among the people generally, apart from the Communists, who are mostly Chinese.

3. Indians in Malaya, and more especially Indian labour, have on the whole kept aloof from these subversive activities and yet they have suffered considerably, with the result, there is a great deal of discontent. I have written<sup>3</sup> directly to the British Government on this subject and we have raised the matter formally too. In these circumstances, to rely completely on British intelligence and to function, in a sense, through the U.K. High Commissioner's Liaison Officer, appears to me to be wrong and undignified for us. If any Foreign Government takes action against Indians we protest immediately and unless something is clearly shown to us to be wrong, we demand the freedom of the Indians concerned. In regard to British authorities abroad, there should be no different approach. We cannot afford to alienate large sections of the Indian community abroad merely to fall in line with British intelligence or the British Colonial Governments, both of which have no good reputation in such matters.

4. On the other hand we have to take such precautions as we can to prevent, in the circumstances existing in India today, any dangerous persons from being given the opportunity to carry on subversive activities. We should, therefore, first of all call upon the Malayan authorities to submit the names of any Indians to be deported to our Representative there before deportation. If they so choose, they can give such facts as they have, to our Representative. This Representative should report to us about these persons. He happens to be a man with the most intimate knowledge of people in Malaya, being a permanent resident there. He is certainly very far from being a Communist and is indeed opposed to any such tendency

3. See preceding item.



there among Indians. His opinion therefore may be of value to us in forming a judgment.<sup>4</sup> Even a preliminary decision should not be based merely on foreign sources like British intelligence and it must be supported by the information received from our Representative. Our Representative might be able to give us definite information about some people, either for or against them. In regard to others he might not have sufficient information. On the basis of all that he writes, a preliminary decision can be arrived at in India and the deportees who arrive here can be treated accordingly. As far as possible people should not be arrested on arrival, except in clear cases. They can be kept in surveillance and interrogated till a final decision is made.

5. We should make it clear to our own people as well as to the British authorities that we cannot act merely on British reports. We have to balance two factors: (1) danger to public security in India; (2) effect on large sections of the Indian community abroad. If we irritate the latter by our policy, we create not only a difficult but possibly a dangerous situation later on. Indeed, we drive many of them into wrong hands and our influence on them decreases. In such matters we have therefore to pay a good deal of attention to the views and recommendations of our Representative in Malaya.

6. It must be remembered that it is perfectly open to any Indian in Malaya, Communist or not, to return of his own accord to India. If, therefore, any persons want to come here to create trouble they can normally do so, and there is nothing to prevent them. We are here dealing with people compelled or forced by some means or other to return to India. Normally speaking it can be said that they do not come of their own accord with any particular object in view and they can easily be watched or even asked to report themselves for interrogatories, etc. The particularly objectionable feature in the present practice appears to be some kind of wholesale arrest of people arriving here on the basis of information supplied by British intelligence. This has led to consternation among Indians and a belief that we are just an agency of the British Government and the British intelligence. That reputation is very bad for us to have. Indeed it has come to this that they prefer remaining in prison in Malaya to being sent to India. Something has to be done to prevent this idea from spreading. If after our own investigation we detain a few and allow others their freedom, then it appears that we have exercised our own judgment much more than we do now. In exercising this judgment, it should be made

4. J.A. Thivy, the Indian representative in Singapore, wrote on 10 December 1948 that those "detained persons who are given option to return to India are not guilty of any offence other than that of having been members and office bearers of Labour Unions under Communist command and which have now been declared illegal..."

perfectly clear that no one is arrested or detained for trade union activities as such, but only for some active participation in subversive activities.

7. Apart from our Representative in Malaya, we have had a deputation of Indians from Malaya, among them one Mr. Budh Singh who is a well-known figure in the Indian community there, known to me for the last dozen of years or more personally, and the President of the Malayan Indian Congress, who has expressed his grave apprehension at the procedure that is being followed.

#### 4. Communism in Malaya<sup>1</sup>

He (Nehru) spoke first of communism. Communism in Russia had achieved a great deal but this had been done at a tremendous cost. Quite apart from the ideal of a Communist society, the methods communism adopted were usually violent and in many ways evil. It was his belief that wrong means would not lead to good results. He had been attracted to some extent intellectually by marxism. It threw some light on the march of history and the understanding of events. But the violence and the methods adopted repelled him. In any event it was wrong and unreasonable to ask Marx to solve the problems of a hundred years later. The world had changed and vast developments of science and technology had posed entirely new problems outside the scope of Marx's analysis. He added incidentally that communism, in whatever country it might appear, would in the long run be overlaid and transformed by the national character, which was likely to prevail in the end.

About Malaya, he wondered why we were finding it so difficult to suppress the Communists and restore law and order. Was this not because the so-called bandits had support from the local population for nationalist or economic reasons? Would it not be well, therefore, to satisfy the nationalist urges and to improve the material welfare of the people at large? As he had given me an opening, I asked him, given that it had long been and still was our aim to work towards the autonomy and eventual independence

1. Lord Strang's account of his talks with Nehru at New Delhi in February 1949. *Home and Abroad* (London), 1956, pp. 242-243. Lord Strang was at that time permanent Under-Secretary of the British Foreign Office. He showed this account to Nehru for approval and it was revised by Nehru.

of colonial territories, how he saw the future of Malaya. To this he had no ready answer. He admitted the difficulties of a plural community, in which he said, in passing, that the Indians had a weaker position than the Chinese. He thought that a composite or multilateral state might be the eventual solution. But he realised that the problem was full of difficulty. He did not mention Indonesian affairs, though we were on the eve of the Delhi Conference on Indonesia, except to say that Malaya and Indonesia were territories which had close and sympathetic contact with India in the past, and where Indian influence had been strong.



## III. SOVIET RUSSIA

1. India and the Soviet Union<sup>1</sup>

I have read this note<sup>2</sup> and found it interesting. There is nothing very new in it about the broad lines of Soviet policy. At the present moment that policy is probably more particularly governed in regard to foreign affairs by Soviet expectation of a third country siding with the U.S.A. group or with the Soviet group. Both these groups have little appreciation of any attitude of neutrality and are inclined to think that those who are not with them are against them. A neutral country like India, therefore, naturally excites suspicion on both sides. That cannot be helped. I think that, to some extent, these groups of Powers are beginning to realize that we are deliberately and consciously trying to maintain an independent and neutral attitude. Probably this realization is far less on the Soviet side because various factors tend to bring us more and more in relation to the U.S.A. and other countries allied to it.

2. I entirely agree with the general conclusion of the report, that is, that we should maintain an attitude of neutrality and judge every question on merits. India's position is a key one in world affairs and as our internal and external strength grow we shall be able to play a more and more important part. It is not quite correct to say that it is a 'Middle of the Road Policy' though it may appear as such. It is, or should be, an independent policy which tries to tone down conflicts between rival groups and to maintain friendly relations with both. In this way, it can, to a slight extent at least, help in the preservation of world peace, which is of paramount importance to all concerned. Both the Power groups suffer from a terrible fear complex and most of their activities are a resultant of this fear of the other. There is no reason why India should be subjected to this fear, even though she may not be strong enough to do much.

1. Note to the Secretary General, 14 February 1949. File No. 1(57)Eur 11/49, p. 121 M.E.A., N.A.I.
2. In his note Rajeshwar Dayal, Counsellor in the Indian Embassy at Moscow, stated that as India held the balance between Western imperialism and Soviet communism she should follow a policy of positive neutrality. Regarding India's policy towards the Soviet Union, the safest beginning would be the establishment of trade relations and cultural contacts.

3. Inevitably, many of our political and trade contacts are still with the U.K., quite apart even from the possible position of India in the Commonwealth. Also our need for machinery or dollars brings us somewhat nearer to the U.S.A. This means that, whether we like it or not, we are much nearer to the U.S.A. and U.K. group than to the U.S.S.R.

4. Our domestic policy resulting in a conflict with the Communist elements here also drives us away from the Soviet and creates barriers between us. Therefore it is natural for the Soviet to think that we are lining up with the U.S.A. and the U.K. That inference, however, is not really justified and the Soviet criticism of India on this basis is rather foolish and indeed, by their attitude and their unbalanced criticism, they tend to bring about exactly what they dislike.

5. I think we should not be affected too much by Soviet criticisms which proceed from a somewhat pathological condition of mind. On our part we should pursue our policy serenely and continue to be friendly to the Soviet, insofar as we can.

6. Because most of our contacts are inevitably with the U.K. and the U.S.A., it is desirable to develop such contacts with the U.S.S.R. as may be feasible. These cannot be many in the present state of affairs, but an attempt to do so will be helpful both from the Soviet point of view as creating an impression that we are seeking these contacts, and from the other point of view also a showing that we are not just becoming hangers-on of U.S.A. or U.K. policy.

7. What are these contacts that we can have? There has been talk of a trade treaty for a long time past. I do not know where matters stand. It may be that the Soviet Government has taken no action in the matter. I have no doubt, however, that we have been very slack in this respect. I remember the Soviet Ambassador<sup>3</sup> telling me some months ago that they have been waiting for some approach from us. Originally there was some talk with our High Commissioner in London. Then it was decided that the matter should be dealt with in New Delhi or Moscow, but nothing transpired. I think we should go ahead and discuss it with the Soviet Ambassador here (keeping our Ambassador in Moscow informed of course), and see what it leads to. It should be made perfectly clear that we are agreeable and willing to have a trade treaty and if there is any reluctance or delay it is on their side, not on ours.

8. I do not myself expect any machinery to flow from Russia to India. There are too many difficulties in the way and I rather doubt if Russia can spare much in the way of machinery.

9. I do not think we should invite Russian geologists to India at this stage. But I do not understand why we should not buy petrol from them if we



need petrol. The fear of W.M.P. that if we do so we might irritate the Oil Combines who supply petrol to us seems to me rather far-fetched. I should frankly tell these Oil Combines that if they do not supply our needs we shall add to them by looking elsewhere. Even our attempting to do so is likely to prove helpful to us and wake up these Oil Trusts.

10. I think it would be advisable to send a small cultural mission or delegation to Russia consisting chiefly of the scientists and the like. They can learn something and their visit will at any rate show that we want to deal with Russia and to develop contacts.

11. If it is possible to exchange films, I should certainly try to do so. I rather doubt the possibility of holding an exhibition of Indian art in Moscow though I would welcome it. The difficulty really is because of transport. The matter might however be investigated. Perhaps we can start in a small way.

12. I am generally agreeable, therefore, to the suggestion in the note from our Embassy in Moscow. I think these matters should be further explored. More particularly I think the trade talks should be commenced and soon after the possibility of sending a scientific mission might be considered.

13. I agree with S.G. that our Ambassador's<sup>4</sup> comments should be asked for on our Counsellor's suggestion. A copy of this note might also be sent to the Ambassador.

4. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.



## IV. CHINA

1. Sino-Indian Cultural Bonds<sup>1</sup>

I send my greetings to the Meeting of the General Assembly of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society.<sup>2</sup> The bonds that have held China and India together in the past were far deeper and more abiding than political bonds can be. Whatever the future may bring to our respective countries, I have no doubt that these cultural bonds should and will continue. The Sino-Indian Cultural Society represents these and I wish it all success.

1. Message to Professor Tan Yun Shan, General Secretary of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society, Santiniketan, 20 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. The General Assembly of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society, formed by Rabindranath Tagore in 1940, met on 25 December 1948 in Santiniketan.

2. Sino-Indian Relations<sup>1</sup>

I attach a letter from the Chinese Ambassador.<sup>2</sup> Will you kindly deal with it and send him a friendly reply without expressly committing ourselves to anything.<sup>3</sup>

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 31 December 1948. J.N. Collection.
2. Dr. Lo Chio-Luen wrote on 31 December expressing his concern over the Tibetan Trade Mission's proposed visit to India in the near future to discuss trade matters, which could "raise some points affecting the sovereignty and administrative integrity of China." He wished Indian authorities to discourage and refuse such discussion.
3. On 3 January, K.P.S. Menon wrote assuring China that India had no intention to discuss issues which would embarrass China in any way.

### 3. Cable to K.M. Panikkar<sup>1</sup>

The Chinese Ambassador to Turkey<sup>2</sup> approached Chaman Lall<sup>3</sup> with the suggestion that India should make an offer of mediation between the Koumintang and the Communists. The Ambassador said that it was purely a personal suggestion. We felt that, in the absence of any request from you or from the Chinese Ambassador in India, it would be unwise to make any such offer. We also doubted whether such an offer would appeal to the Communists even if the Kuomintang Government were in its favour. We have replied accordingly to Chaman Lall.

1. New Delhi, 31 December 1948. J.N. Collection. Panikkar was at this time Ambassador to China.
2. Li Ti-tsun, Ambassador to Turkey, 1947-57.
3. Then Ambassador of India to Turkey.

### 4. Economic Cooperation with Tibet<sup>1</sup>

The Tibetan Trade Mission was received by H.P.M. at his residence. After enquiring about the countries the Mission has visited, the Prime Minister asked if they had succeeded in achieving the objects of their tour.<sup>2</sup>

Tsepon Shakabpa<sup>3</sup> made a request for the grant of two million dollars to Tibet for the purchase of gold, which, he said, was required in order to back Tibetan currency. The Prime Minister pointed out that India

1. Record of Nehru's talks with the Tibetan trade mission led by Tsepon Shakabpa at New Delhi on 8 January 1949 as reported in the minute. File No. 1(1)-NEF/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I. Extracts.
2. In January 1948, the Tibetan Government sent a trade delegation to visit the United Kingdom, the United States, India and China to seek relaxation of Indian control on Tibetan exports, explore prospects of securing machinery for use in agriculture and wool factories and, bear witness to Tibet's independent and sovereign status. The trade mission on its second visit to New Delhi in January 1949 expressed its desire to station a Tibetan representative in India.
3. Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa (b.1907); head of the Finance Department and President of Tibetan National Assembly, 1939; headed Tibetan Trade Mission which went round the world, 1948; took refuge in India, 1951.

was herself suffering from a severe shortage of dollars but that the Government of India would do their best to meet essential Tibetan requirements. Shakabpa said that gold was essential for lowering the prices of commodities in Tibet. The Prime Minister said that rise in prices was due rather to shortage of goods than to inadequate gold backing for currency.

Tsepon Shakabpa next raised the question of free transit facilities through India for Tibetan exports and imports. It was pointed out that the question was being referred to the Ministries of Finance and Commerce for detailed consideration and that the considered views of the Government of India were expected to be communicated to the Trade Mission when they came back to Delhi from Calcutta in February. The Prime Minister assured the Mission that the question would receive very careful consideration from his Government.

Shakabpa said that the Tibetans were a poor people and that the Tibetan Government was very anxious to improve their economic condition. The Prime Minister fully sympathized with the Tibetan Government's desire for the betterment of the economic condition of their people and said that, not being fully industrialized herself, India was in a unique position to offer suggestions for the lines along which the economic development of Tibet might be undertaken. He made two broad suggestions for the achievement of that object: (1) He told the Mission that, in view of lack of technical personnel and capital and of modern means of transport and communication in Tibet, it was difficult for large-scale industries to be established. It was, therefore, advisable for a country like Tibet to plan her economic development in accordance with the suggestions made by Mahatma Gandhi for India. Tibet should undertake the establishment of cottage and small-scale industries. For the purpose, he assured the Mission that the Government of India would make the services of a few experts from the All India Village Industries Association available to the Tibetan Government. These experts, he said, could visit Tibet during the summer for about 3 months, work under the direction of the Tibetan Government and make the results of their investigations available to the Tibetan Government for such use as they might like to make of them. The development of such industries could be undertaken in spite of lack of educated people and of skilled workers; (2) he also suggested a careful survey of the mineral resources of Tibet. He said that even though it was difficult for India to spare trained geologists he would try to make the services of two or three such people available to the Tibetan Government for a few months in order to undertake a preliminary survey of the mineral resources of Tibet. These experts also, he said, would work under the directions of the Government of Tibet and make the results of their investigations available to that Government. He made it clear that before any



detailed implementation of the programme suggested by him was possible, it was necessary for these experts to make a preliminary investigation. Shakabpa welcomed the H.P.M.'s suggestions and promised to convey them to his Government on his return to Tibet.

The Prime Minister assured the Trade Mission that his Government entertained the most cordial feelings of friendship for Tibet, her Government and people and that it would be his constant endeavour to foster the relations of friendship existing between the two peoples.

## 5. Cable to K.M. Panikkar<sup>1</sup>

I have given most careful consideration to the suggestion for an appeal contained in paragraph of your telegram No. 43, dated 28th January<sup>2</sup> and have also consulted some friendly Governments informally. Balance of opinion is against our making any appeal, especially as events show that victorious Communists seek a victor's, not a negotiated peace. In this mood, they are not likely to pay much heed to our voice, and we also run risk of hurting feelings of Nationalist China by advising realistic settlement which, in circumstances of today, must necessarily be more favourable to the Communists than to them. I have, therefore, decided not to say anything, atleast for the present.

1. New Delhi, 7 February 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. Panikkar suggested that an appeal could be made to some friendly governments for mediation, to negotiate peace with the Communists on behalf of the Nationalist Government.

6. To Li Tsun-jen<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 15, 1949

Dear friend,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd January which I have only just received. I appreciate your good wishes for the New Year which I cordially reciprocate.

We have been watching with neighbourly concern the recent developments in China.<sup>3</sup> We hope that the Chinese people, with that spirit of reasonableness which has characterized them from time immemorial, will find some way out of their present perplexities. My own feeling is that the less outsiders meddle with China the better.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Secretary General, Municipal Government of Shanghai, second-in-command in Chiang Kai-shek's army, succeeded Chiang Kai-shek as acting President in January 1949.

3. The Communist successes in China in the civil war.

1. To Rafi Ahmed Kidwai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
20th December 1948

My dear Rafi,

I have given further thought to the question of Sucheta Kripalani inaugurating the Nepal Conference in Calcutta.<sup>2</sup> I feel that at the present moment this will not be advisable. There are many difficult questions which have suddenly arisen—Indonesia and Kashmir in its latest phase. Directly these have nothing to do with Nepal, but there are certain indirect connections which have to be borne in mind and, I think it will be better for us not to do anything which might indicate that either the Government or important citizens connected with the High Command of the Congress are taking an active part in the agitation against the present Nepalese Government. We are, as a matter of fact, continually bringing some pressure to bear upon the Nepalese Government. This might well be neutralised by an association with a Nepalese agitation. I have, therefore, advised Sucheta Kripalani not to inaugurate the conference.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. File No. 33(60)/48-PMS.

2. The Nepal Democratic Congress was held at Calcutta on 30 and 31 December 1948 to express solidarity with the agitation in Nepal seeking to replace Rana's rule by a democratic government.



## 2. To Rafi Ahmed Kidwai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

December 21, 1948

My dear Rafi,

I have your letter of December 21 about Nepal.<sup>2</sup>

I do not know what you mean by our having a clear policy in regard to Nepal. That policy can only be a combination of several approaches:

- (1) To remain friendly with the Nepal Government and people.
- (2) To promote political and economic reform and progress in Nepal.
- (3) To prevent the exploitation of Nepal by foreign interests.
- (4) To help in developing Nepal to the mutual advantage of Nepal and India.

There is no question of neglecting Nepal. The only question is what aspect of the above policy to stress more than others at a particular moment. If our Government allied itself rather openly with an agitation by Nepalese or others, that would be opposed to international procedure and convention. What is more, it would result immediately in throwing the present Government in Nepal into the hands of the American Mission you referred to.<sup>3</sup> I think it is easier to combat foreign interests there through governmental means and the normal diplomatic approach. We are doing this continually. It is open of course to the Nepalese to carry on any agitation they like, provided this does not go beyond certain bounds and remains quite peaceful.

As for our Ambassador there,<sup>4</sup> he may not be an ideal person, but of one thing I am quite certain that he is very much against the growth of English or American influence or vested interests there and he has continually pointed out to us the danger of this influence. Further he has been laying stress on these to the Nepal Government. An Ambassador is of little use if he is not *persona grata* with a Government, because then

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. Referring to Nehru's objection to associate with Nepalese political activities in India, Kidwai wrote that "We must have a clear policy about our own aims in Nepal," when a big American mission was being allowed to explore closed regions there. He believed that the Indian Ambassador in Nepal "never had any sympathy with Indian nationalists" and could "better be influenced by Englishmen and Americans."
3. An American mission headed by Dr. Dillon Ripley was granted permission in early December 1948 to explore the Karnali river valley and Sun Kosi valley in Nepal. These regions were till then barred to all outsiders.
4. Surjit Singh Majithia.

his influence ceases. An average politician, who may be a clever man, and even with some political sense, may at the same time be completely unfit for an Ambassadorship, because he just cannot develop proper contacts with the Government in question.

This has nothing to do with statesmanship; it is just commonsense.

I entirely agree with you that we must fight corruption and we must not resent criticism. I do not know if any one is prepared to disagree with you about the corruption issue. The difficulty is of getting a handle to fight it. Give me any handle which I can seize hold of and I promise that I shall do my utmost.

As for a special dearness allowance for the low paid staff, I am very worried myself and I hope this matter will be considered afresh early in January.

There is no question of my objecting to any Congressman associating himself with the Nepalese conference. I have two difficulties. One is that the people running these conferences and conventions are extraordinarily irresponsible, however, earnest they might be. They have little experience and they often injure their own cause by their wild statements. Secondly the association of a prominent Congressman will not help them very much. It will make people believe that outsiders are pushing the movement on and the Nepal Government itself will exploit this idea...

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

### 3. To Sri Krishna Sinha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 23, 1949

My dear Sri Babu,

Your letter of the 19th January about the Nepalese National Congress.<sup>2</sup>

In this matter we have to steer a middle course. We cannot suppress agitation in India against the present Nepal Government, if this is peaceful and constitutional. The Nepalese Government is behaving in a very reactionary manner and breaking the promises it has made. In some of its activities it has discriminated against India and has encouraged foreign interests also. We are in fact taking up a strong line on these matters with them.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Founded in 1947 by the Banaras group of Nepali political exiles headed by B.P. Koirala to replace the Rana regime by a democratic government.

On the other hand it would be inadvisable to have these demonstrations etc., right near the border which might lead to trouble across the border. Each case has to be judged on its merits. Normally speaking, the Nepal Government should not address a provincial Government. They should deal with the Centre directly.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. Help to Nepal in Mineral Development<sup>1</sup>

The attached note from Dr. Ghosh<sup>2</sup> has rather surprised me. In this some reasons are given why the Government of India declined to interest themselves in the question of mineral development in Nepal. I am not aware of ever having been consulted in this matter and I am entirely of the contrary opinion. I realize that we have not got enough trained manpower. Nevertheless, politically our interest in Nepal is so important that it is better for us to leave some job in India undone than not to send a geologist etc. to Nepal...

I am most surprised by reason No. 3, that is, diplomatically it would be wrong for India to take the initiative. Obviously we cannot force ourselves in Nepal. But we should certainly take the initiative and we should equally certainly object if other countries are given preference over us in Nepal.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 23 January 1949. J.N. Collection. Extracts.  
2. Jnan Chandra Ghosh.



VI. ISRAEL

1. To N.V. Gadgil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 30, 1949

My dear Gadgil,

Your letter of January 29th about the recognition of Israel.<sup>2</sup> If you so desire it, the matter can certainly be considered informally in the Cabinet. External Affairs have carefully gone into this question and we feel that we should remain quiet for the present and await developments. In view of the recent Conference on Indonesia, it would be inappropriate for us and harmful for India to recognise Israel *de facto* or *de jure* at this stage. This will tend to break up the Conference structure and even affect our position in regard to Indonesia. It is possible that some developments may take place in Palestine itself fairly soon which might enable us to reconsider the position.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. India recognized Israel much later on 17 September 1950.

2. Recognition of Israel<sup>1</sup>

The Egyptian Ambassador<sup>2</sup> came to see me this morning. He conveyed to me the gratitude of his Government for the attitude that the Government of India had taken up in regard to the recognition of Israel.<sup>3</sup> He said that when the Palestine issue was being considered by the United Nations and negotiations for truce were going on, any recognition was untimely to say

11 Note, 4 February 1949. File No. 46(15)-AWT/48, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I. Extracts.

2. Ismail Kamal Bey.

3. See p. 298.

the least of it. The recognition by a number of countries of Israel at this stage was obviously aimed at exercising some pressure in a certain direction and might almost be considered an unfriendly act.

He seemed to imply that the position would be different after the present negotiations are over or after the Security Council has come to a decision.

He then informed me that he had a long talk with the Dutch Ambassador about Indonesia and had impressed upon him the moderation of our attitude in regard to Indonesia and the desirability of the Dutch Government falling in line with it. . . .

### 3. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 5, 1949

My dear Krishna,

Thank you for your letter with which you sent me a letter for Sardar Patel.<sup>2</sup> This was forwarded on to him. I understand that he is going to send a reply to you. This matter may be considered as ended.

About the recognition of Israel, I have already sent you a telegram. There is little doubt that Israel has come to stay and, therefore, in the normal course, we shall have to recognize the new State. But it does make a great deal of difference how and when we do it. Just at the present moment any recognition on our part would have tended to disrupt the Conference on Indonesia and spoilt much of the good effect that this Conference had created. It would have had a bad effect on Muslims in India generally. It might slightly have affected the Kashmir problem to our disadvantage and our relations with Pakistan would also have been somewhat worsened.

Apart from these considerations it seems to me fairly natural that when negotiations are taking place between the various parties in Palestine and the representatives of Egypt, and the Security Council are in charge of the matter, we should wait for a while and see what the final result of these

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Krishna Menon wrote to Patel about Sanjeevi's visit and activities in England. He, expressed his regret, if his remarks to Sanjeevi had caused any distress to the Home Minister or had cast any bad reflection on the policies of the Government of India.

negotiations is and what the Security Council finally decides.<sup>3</sup> A previous recognition may have some advantages but it also has certain obvious disadvantages.

You are right in saying that we cannot expect much from the Arab States and that, in any event, they are rather unreliable, as they have shown in the past. Nevertheless, India's foreign policy cannot ignore all the countries to the West of India from Afghanistan onwards. We are, at the present moment, very friendly with Afghanistan and on the whole our prestige has risen all over Western Asia. More and more these countries to the West and to the East of India look up to India. Any considerations of world policy have to be tempered by our relations, East and West of India.

The Indonesian question is likely to take another serious turn fairly soon. Within the next ten days or so the U.N. Commission on Indonesia will report. Its report is very likely going to be against the Dutch or rather will point out that the Dutch have failed to carry out the directions of Security Council. It is important that the Security Council then should take some measures or introduce some sanctions. I do not know what they will do but I understand that the U.S.A. is inclined to take fairly strong measures against the Dutch. From all accounts, the U.K. Government is not only lukewarm but is passively supporting the Dutch in spite of its occasional public declarations. What happens in Indonesia, and what we do in regard to it, is of the highest importance even from the wider point of view. Therefore, we must not allow anything to come in the way of effective action there and the U.K. Government should realize that we are dead serious about this.

Our Representative in Indonesia<sup>4</sup> constantly reports to us that the U.K. Consul General's attitude is consistently unfavourable to the Republic.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

3. The Israeli-Egyptian armistice negotiations, starting in Rhodes on January 13 under the chairmanship of Dr. Bunche, the acting mediator, led to an agreement signed on 24 February, freezing the Israeli and Egyptian positions in the Negev to the cease-fire line as on 24 January.
4. S.C. Alagappan, Consul General at Batavia, Indonesia.



VII. AFGHANISTAN

1. Aid to Afghanistan<sup>1</sup>

I agree that we should be generous in our relations with Afghanistan.<sup>2</sup> This is in our own interest. Exactly what we can do has to be carefully considered before any commitments are made.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 4 February 1949. File No. 8(55)-IA/48, N.A.I.
2. The officials had recommended friendly relations with Afghanistan and generous assistance in cash or goods and services.

## VIII. SOUTH AFRICA

1. Riots in Durban<sup>1</sup>

News of rioting in Durban in South Africa<sup>2</sup> and loss of life and extensive damage has created great anxiety throughout India. I do not wish to express any opinion about this rioting till I have fuller information. We have asked our Representative in South Africa immediately to proceed to Durban and to put himself in touch with the Government of the Union of South Africa and responsible residents of that place and send us a full and authentic account of what has happened. It is clear that these happenings are of the gravest character and a heavy responsibility lies on those who are responsible for maintaining peace and order. The Government of India wish to assure Indians in South Africa that they are deeply concerned at this tragic development and will do all in their power to help them. If it is necessary, a delegation from India will be sent to give such relief and help as may be possible.

I should like to add that it has been the policy of the Government to encourage in every way friendly and cooperative relations between Indians and Africans in the continent of Africa. While Indians, wherever they may be, expect to receive courteous treatment and protection and opportunity, we recognize that no vested interest must come in the way of the progress of the African people in their homeland, and that the progress and advancement of Africans must have priority over the claims of other people.

1. Statement to the press on 18 January, 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Racial riots on a large scale took place in Durban on 13 and 14 January when some blacks attacked Indian houses and shops, burning and looting property and killing Indians.

## 2. Cable to D.F. Malan<sup>1</sup>

We are deeply concerned at the tragic happenings in Durban and even more so at the fact that the good relations which have hitherto subsisted between the Indian and African sections of the population in South Africa should have been broken in such an unfortunate manner. We are glad to learn that the Union Government have decided to appoint a Judicial Commission of Enquiry<sup>2</sup> to investigate into the causes which led to and the circumstances surrounding these disturbances. We trust that not only will the basic causes of the riots be ascertained but also that steps will be taken by the Union Government to prevent a repetition of such incidents in future. We are aware that it is the responsibility of the Union Government to deal with the situation in their country and to afford relief to the victims of the riots and that they are already taking steps to that end. The Union Government will, however, appreciate that the people of India have for humanitarian and other reasons been greatly moved by these tragic incidents.

We are, therefore, asking the Secretary to the High Commissioner for Indians in South Africa to cooperate in every possible way with local organizations for relief and are placing funds at his disposal for use on relief at his discretion. We are also instructing him to do whatever he can in promoting good relations between Indians and other sections of the population in South Africa.

1. 22 January 1949. J.N. Collection. D.F. Malan (1874-1959); Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs of the Union of South Africa, 1948-54.
2. The Government of the Union of South Africa had appointed a Judicial Commission consisting of three persons.

## 3. Durban Racial Riots<sup>1</sup>

I approved of a draft statement the other day regarding the Durban racial riots.<sup>2</sup> In this certain figures of casualties are mentioned. Presumably these figures have been supplied by South African Union Government. If so, this should be stated in the statement.

Have these figures been challenged? The general impression I got was that these figures were not accepted as correct. Have we received any comment on these figures from our Representative there?

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 31 January 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. See next item.



#### 4. Statement on the Durban Riots<sup>1</sup>

With the permission of the Chair I should like to make a brief statement on the recent racial riots in Durban, in South Africa. Honourable Members must have read the reports in newspapers of these tragic happenings. They must also have seen the two press notes which Government have issued on the subject.<sup>2</sup> I am placing copies of these notes on the table of the House.

The Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa has stated that the casualties were as follows :

Indians killed 53 and injured 768. Africans killed 83 and injured 1,085. Europeans killed 1 and injured 30.

The Secretary<sup>3</sup> to the High Commissioner for India in the Union of South Africa who was at Cape Town at the time went immediately to Durban on learning of the disturbances which were in fact continuing when he arrived there. He made some inquiry then and later returned to Cape Town. He paid a second visit to Durban from January 25th to 31st and visited most of the affected areas and refugee camps and had discussions with leaders of the Natal Indian Congress<sup>4</sup> and the Natal Indian Organisation<sup>5</sup> at Durban and Maritzburg, and also with the Natal Administrator, the Mayor of Durban and other officials and non-officials.

He has reported to us that there has been a considerable destruction of dwelling houses and shops owned by Indians. About 250 dwelling houses and 53 shops have been destroyed and according to a conservative estimate the damage to property is £300,000.

At one time about twenty thousand Indians were in refugee camps. The position on the 31st January was as follows :

About 300 Indian families numbering two thousand persons, whose homes were burnt down, are collected at seven Indian schools which have been recognized as camps by the authorities. Reopening of these schools

1. Speech in the Constituent Assembly, 2 February 1949. *Constituent Assembly Debates, Official Report*, Vol. I, Part II, 1949, 1-23 February 1949, pp. 67-69.
2. The two press notes, dated 18 and 23 January 1949 were drafted by Nehru. The first one is printed here; the second one was similar to this statement in the Constituent Assembly and expressing 'grave concern' stated that "such serious rioting could not have started and spread in such a short time without a background."
3. R.T. Chari, I.C.S.
4. Mahatma Gandhi founded the Natal Indian Congress in 1894, when the Government of South Africa had passed a number of discriminatory laws against Indians.
5. Following polarisation of political attitudes between the radicals and moderates in the Indian community, the moderates, mainly merchants, founded the Natal Indian Organisation, allowing the Europeans to join on equal status as non-whites.

has been postponed by one week to February seventh and meanwhile other suitable temporary shelter is being sought as it will take some time to find permanent accommodation for them. Food is being supplied through the municipal city store and camps are run efficiently with Indian volunteer committees. Others have returned to what remains of their original homes. These consist of about 2,000 families, numbering 15,000 persons. Besides these, 1,000 persons are sheltering in a former cattle shed at Cato Manor Sub-division. Indian volunteers are supplying food to these people pending their gradual return to homes. For those who have returned to their homes the authorities are considering the issue of kitchen equipment and matters, as homes are only empty shells having been completely looted. Assistance with rations is being supplied by Indian voluntary efforts.

Although there is still tension, shops have opened again and Durban life is returning to normal.

The official Natal Relief Fund has so far received £14,000, mostly from Indian donations. This Fund has no Indian or African representative. Two committees have been formed to deal with the homeless and those whose homes were looted but not burnt. These committees have representatives of the Natal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Organisation. So far as the relief of Africans is concerned, this is the responsibility of the Native Affairs Department of the Municipality. About 1,200 Africans have also left their homes situated in certain areas.

The Government of the Union of South Africa has appointed an Inquiry Commission consisting of three persons, namely Mr. Justice F.P. Van Heever, Judge of Appeal Court, as Chairman, and Mr. Ryle Masson, Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg, and Mr. H.F.W. Schultz, Chief Magistrate of Durban, as Members. This Commission is expected to start work soon. The exact terms of reference have not yet been announced.

The Government of India are seriously exercised at this sudden deterioration in the relations between Indians and Africans in South Africa. It is obvious that so violent a rupture of peaceful relations could not have taken place because of a stray incident<sup>6</sup> and there must have been other causes. As, however, the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Union Government is expected to investigate the cause and course of the riots,<sup>7</sup> Government prefer to withhold any comment on the origin and course of the disturbances.

6. The incident of a black child being assaulted by an Indian bus conductor in the Indian sector of Durban on January 13 was said to have sparked off the race riots.
7. Published on 17 April 1949 the report on the Durban riots, based on unverified information by witnesses who were not cross examined, said that the police acted with promptitude and discretion to quell the riots. Economic exploitation by affluent Indians, competition between Indians and Africans for employment and social status, show of superiority by Indians and their passive resistance movement which set a bad example to the Africans were found responsible for the riots.



In a message to the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, I expressed the hope that not only will the Commission of Inquiry ascertain the basic causes of the riots, but that steps will also be taken by the Union Government to prevent a repetition of such incidents in future. I added that we are instructing the Secretary to the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa to do whatever he can by promoting good relations between the Indians and other sections of the population of South Africa. To this message I have had a reply from Dr. Malan saying that he has noted our request to Mr. Chari and is placing at his disposal all available information.

The Government of India's policy, not only in South Africa but all over the Continent of Africa, has been to promote close friendship and cooperation between Indians and Africans. While earnestly desiring the security and well being of Indians abroad, Government do not look with sympathy on the establishment of any vested interests which may retard the advancement of the African people in their own homelands. This view has been frequently communicated to our representatives in the Continent of Africa.

Government have placed Rs. 50,000 at the disposal of the Secretary to India's High Commissioner in South Africa to use for relief at his discretion, and further sums will be placed at his disposal as required. It has been made clear that relief should be given to all those who stand in need of it and should not be confined to the relief of any particular community.

## 5. Relief for Refugees<sup>1</sup>

With reference to the latest telegram received from Indembassy, Rangoon informing us about the refugees from Insein area, you may be prepared to send more money for relief as soon as it is needed. If any delay or difficulty arises, I can give some money from the Prime Minister's Fund.

2. Regarding relief for sufferers from the Durban riots, we should also be prepared to send more money. As far as I remember, the money we sent was practically all handed over to the official fund.<sup>2</sup> I think, our Representative should keep some money in hand for direct relief. For this purpose, it would be desirable for him to have a small informal committee of non-official advisers. If necessary, I am prepared to give some money from the Prime Minister's Fund for this also.

1. Note to Additional Secretary, M.E.A. & C.R., 9 February 1949. J.N. Collection.

2. The Government of India had placed Rs. 50,000 at the disposal of the Secretary of the High Commission for relief to the riot victims.



13

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

III. Foreign Settlements in India



## 1. Conduct of Portuguese Authorities<sup>1</sup>

Newspapers contain reports<sup>2</sup> frequently of the misbehaviour of the Portuguese authorities in Goa, Mahe, etc. I attach one such report. Are we doing anything about this? I think our Consul should protest vigorously.<sup>3</sup>

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 9 January 1949. File No. 15(8)-Eur 1/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I. Extracts.
2. A report published in the *Free Press Journal*, Bombay, of 8 January 1949 stated that hooligans in connivance with the police were harassing women and children in the Portuguese settlements.
3. In spite of Indian protest, no positive action was taken by the Portuguese authorities.

## 2. Portuguese Presence in India<sup>1</sup>

I had an interview today with Dr. Vasco Vieira Garin,<sup>2</sup> Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Portugal to India. I spoke to him for nearly three quarters of an hour.

2. First of all I pointed out the delays in settling the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Portugal in parts of India.<sup>3</sup> He regretted the delay and said that the matter was being considered. I told him that no future appointment on the basis of the old padroado<sup>4</sup> will be accepted by us.

1. Note to Secretary General, 25 January 1949. File No. 19 (82)-Eur I/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. (b.1907); Chief of Political Bureau, Ministry of External Affairs at Lisbon, 1946; Minister to India, 1949-55; Ambassador to Canada, 1955-60; Permanent Representative to U.N., 1955-63; Ambassador to U.S., 1963-71.
3. Portugal had a considerable role in appointments to posts of the Roman Catholic Church in India. In Cochin and Mylapore (Madras) only Portuguese were appointed as bishops and were paid by their own Government. In Mangalore, Tiruchchirappalli and Quilon, bishops could be appointed only with the approval of the Portuguese Republic. The Archbishop of Bombay "has to be alternatively Portuguese and British." See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 2, p. 565.
4. Padroado was the name for the ecclesiastical "managing agency" granted by the Vatican to the Portuguese Government. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 7, pp. 678-79.



3. I then told him that the question of the future of Goa had to be considered. I did not wish to discuss this at the moment but I did wish to mention it. The present state of affairs was completely unsatisfactory. He was rather put out by my mention of Goa and said that he had no authority to say anything about it except that Goa was considered to be a part of Portugal and there was no reason why we should not have good, friendly relations with Portuguese Goa. I said I was all for good neighbourly relations with Goa and that Goa should maintain its cultural traditions as they existed now. It might also have some autonomy in some matters. But politically and economically it just could not remain apart from India. This was not a question of my wishing it and others not wishing it, but circumstances were such now, after the removal of British rule from India, that these small patches of foreign territory could not continue as such.

4. The Portuguese Minister went on pointing out that Goa was an essential and living part of Portugal and it was difficult for him to conceive how it could be separated. I did not carry the argument much further except to say that this matter will have to be considered fully later.

5. I mentioned also that we were greatly distressed at the repression taking place at Goa and more especially the long sentences given to well-known people for trivial offences. I pointed out that this created unrest and trouble not only across the borders of Goa but elsewhere in India. He said that very few persons were involved in this way.

### 3. Policy Regarding Foreign Possessions in India<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I regret to say that no progress has been made in this matter.<sup>2</sup> The Government of India's policy in regard to foreign possessions in India, as has been stated previously, is wholly in consonance with the Jaipur Congress resolution.<sup>3</sup> We believe that for a variety of reasons it is natural and proper that all foreign possessions in India should be united to India. We propose to give effect to this policy through friendly discussions with the foreign powers concerned. It has been difficult to have direct communications with the Portuguese Government because there were no direct contacts between the two Governments. Now that diplomatic relations have been established, these negotiations will take place.

1. 11 February 1949. *Constituent Assembly (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Vol. I, Part I, Ist-17th February 1949, p. 530.

2. Negotiations with Portugal.

3. The resolution passed on 17 December 1948 read: "It is inevitable that these foreign possessions should cease to be foreign and should be incorporated politically with India."

#### 4. Referendum in French Settlements<sup>1</sup>

I agree<sup>2</sup> that we should now press for an early move to hold a referendum. It should be clearly stated that there must be effective safeguards to ensure a free and fair expression of opinion. This means observers approved of by us.

1. Note to Secretary General, 11 February 1949. File No. 15(4)-X/48, Vol. III, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. On 9 February 1949, the Foreign Secretary reported that the French Ambassador had indicated his Government's desire to have a referendum soon in the French-governed areas, with some observers appointed by the International Court of Justice who would be paid by France.





13

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

IV. General



1. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

21 December 1948

My dear Krishna,

On my return yesterday from Jaipur I received three letters from you all dated the 16th December.<sup>2</sup>

The rumours you refer to about your being recalled or replaced have of course not the least bit of justification or substance. There is a spate of rumours of this kind here from time to time relating not only to you but to many others in the Foreign Service. There are two or three press correspondents in Delhi who have made it their special job in life to have a dig at me in regard to the Foreign Service and they continually spread various types of rumours. It is difficult to go about contradicting everything that is said. I spoke about this in public once or twice.

The rumours specially cluster around Vijayalakshmi. I am supposed to be guilty of nepotism in pushing my own family.

As a matter of fact there has been no question at all of your leaving India House or Vijayalakshmi going there. I decided to ignore these rumours but as you think it desirable, we shall have a brief statement issued.

Yours

Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Krishna Menon complained that persistent rumours about his recall had "an unsettling and disturbing effect on a number of people and circles." He urged Nehru to issue a formal denial of this.

2. Greetings to Indian Representatives<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister sends you, the members of your staff, and all Indian citizens abroad, his greetings and good wishes for the New Year. May we all serve the cause of our Motherland with devotion and integrity and goodwill to all countries and peoples during the coming year, and thus serve also the larger cause of human freedom and progress and world peace. *Jai Hind.*

1. The message was cabled to all Indian Embassies and Legations abroad, 31 December 1948. J.N. Collection.



### 3. Encouragement of Tourism<sup>1</sup>

Home Ministry may please see this note by the Deputy Minister.<sup>2</sup> I think it would be desirable to encourage tourist traffic. We have to be more careful about people who intend coming for a long stay. Both for publicity and financial reasons tourist traffic is encouraged by most countries.

At the Dominion Premiers' Conference in London we considered in some detail U.K.'s economic plan for the next 5 years. An important part of it was to encourage tourist traffic in order to get dollars. In India we cannot expect too many tourists. But even if 1000 come in the course of the year they represent at least £1,000,000 which would prove very helpful to us.

As regards charges for visas as well as the complaint of lack of consideration and courtesy in our Embassies and Legations, E.A. should look into the matter. A high rate for visas is normally associated with petty countries who try to make money out of this business.

1. Note to Home Ministry, 5 January 1949. File No. 5 (43)-PV 11/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. B.V. Keskar's note of 5 January 1949 mentioned the rigorous restrictions on travel in India which discouraged tourists from abroad. He noted that visa charges were much higher than in other countries, and that Indian Embassies abroad seemed to obstruct rather than help visitors to come to India.

### 4. National Dress<sup>1</sup>

A long time ago our Foreign Department issued instructions to our representatives abroad to the effect that formal dress should be a black *sherwani* and white pyjamas. Since then many new Embassies have been opened and I found the other day that some people did not know about this dress. I think External Affairs should send a reminder.

You might also suggest to the Home Ministry that some such circular might be issued to our principal officers here and elsewhere. This need not be made compulsory at this stage in India.

1. Note to Secretariat, New Delhi, 6 January 1949. File No. 2(154)/48-PMS.

India is frequently represented by pictures of its noble buildings and its famous monuments of antiquity. Sometimes we see more modern structures, which may be impressive in their own way, but are seldom noted for their grace or beauty.

We have also pictures of her mountains and lakes and forests, and our plains, and great rivers and raging torrents and billowing brooks.

All that is India, is a part of India. It is impossible to compress the whole country of India in a book or in a collection of pictures.

Likewise, the politicians of India appear almost daily in some form or other in the newspapers. They compete, in this respect, with the film stars of other countries. It is a happy development that India has in India.

There are also pictures of parties and revolutions, especially in the North and in some parts of the South, where the same people, going from one revolution to another, they refused to offend, would as well as the new officials of India and elsewhere, with their own and dignity. That too is India.

But there is one other thing is a different aspect of India - the common folk, the masses, the people. Again, they represent all the types whom you know - the poor, the rich, the ignorant, the educated. It might have been possible to show an entirely different set of types and they would have been equally representative of the Indian world. I have not done that. I have not shown you an idea of our people - the humblest and the most exalted. The pictures are good and I hope that many will desire to see them and will be interested in them as I have done.

Jawaharlal Nehru

New Delhi, January 9, 1949



WITH C.V. RAMAN IN THE INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE, BANGALORE,  
DECEMBER 1948



## 5. Invitation to Visit America<sup>1</sup>

The American Ambassador might be informed that while I am grateful for the invitation from the Academy of Arts and Letters,<sup>2</sup> there is no question of my feeling any embarrassment in paying a visit to the States on the invitation of the President. When this invitation came to me last year, I expressed my gratitude and appreciation for it and further that I would gladly avail myself of it, whenever circumstances in India permitted me to do so. I still hope that I shall be able to do so sometime this year. But I am afraid I cannot indicate the time now. As far as I can see, I shall not be able to leave India in the first half of this year. The Constituent Assembly is beginning from tomorrow and will go on till some time in April. It meets again early in May for finalizing the Constitution and will no doubt carry on till the end of June or later. It is difficult for me to leave India when these important Sessions of the Constituent Assembly are taking place.

This difficulty of dates also prevents me from visiting America in time to attend the Ceremonial of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in May next. I am, however, grateful for the honour the Academy have done in inviting me for this occasion.

1. Note to Secretary General, M.E.A., 31 January 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. It was founded in 1904 in New York to promote literature and fine arts in the United States.

## 6. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram No. 4413 dated 6 February. Account appearing in *Reynolds News*<sup>2</sup> is completely without foundation. There has been no ques-

1. New Delhi, 8 February 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. *Reynolds News*, an independent Sunday paper, known for its radical and socialist leanings wrote, "Pandit Nehru, Premier of India and Sardar Patel, rightwing Deputy Premier, are to call a special conference of all provincial and state Premiers to discuss the situation arising from Communist successes in China."

tion at any time and no suggestion about calling a special conference to consider situation arising from developments in China. Naturally these events have been followed here with vigilant interest. Grave concern and anxiety, however, does not describe our state of mind.

No plans to send students for technical education to Russia had been made or have been overruled.<sup>3</sup>

3. The *New York Times* reported that the Ministry of Education had plans to send students for technical education to Russia but Maulana Azad had been overruled and the plans had been cancelled.

## 7. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 4579 dated 14 February.<sup>2</sup> I am surprised at *Reynolds News* refusing to contradict story which is without foundation.

On several occasions during the last year I have been approached by the American Ambassador conveying an invitation to visit Washington. A similar approach was made some weeks ago. There has been no mention of communism or any other subject. My reply has been that I am grateful for the invitation and I shall greatly like to visit America as soon as I can afford to leave India. I cannot do so in any event till the Constituent Assembly Session is over. This means July at least.

Received another invitation from an eminent literary society in America.<sup>3</sup> It was hinted that perhaps I might prefer such an invitation to a formal invitation from the President. I replied that when I can go to America I shall gladly accept President's invitation. There is no necessity for me to seek some other invitation for the purpose. I cannot say what worries President Truman but we are not worried by the so-called threat to India.

1. New Delhi, 15 February 1949. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Krishna Menon wrote, "They stick to the story put out by their correspondent from Bombay." He also mentioned that the *Daily Mail*, under the headline "Threat to India Worries Truman", reported that President Truman had invited Nehru to Washington to discuss the communist threat to India and the necessary defence measures. This seemed to Menon an attempt to neutralize India's insistence on an independent foreign policy.
3. The Academy of Arts and Letters.

14

MISCELLANEOUS

I. General





## 1. The Infinite Variety of India<sup>1</sup>

India is frequently represented by pictures of its noble buildings and its famous monuments of antiquity. Sometimes we see more modern structures, which may be impressive in their own way, but are seldom noted for their grace or beauty.

We have also pictures of her mountains and lakes and forests, and vast plains, and great rivers and raging torrents and bubbling brooks.

All that is India, or a part of India. It is impossible to compress the infinite variety of India in a book or in a collection of pictures.

Latterly, the politicians of India appear almost daily in some pose or other in the newspapers. They compete, in this respect, with the film stars of other countries. It is not a happy development. But that too is India.

Then we have pictures of parties and receptions, especially in New Delhi, with the same people, or more or less the same people, going from one reception to another. They represent the official world as well as the non-officials of note and substance, with their wives and daughters. That too is India.

But here in this volume there is a different aspect of India—the common folk, the masses, the people. Again, they represent some odd types chosen from Kashmir in the North to Kanya Kumari in the far South. It might have been possible to choose an entirely different set of type and they would have been equally representative of this rather wonderful country of ours. But this set of pictures does give an idea of our people in the humbler ranks of society. The pictures are good and I hope that many will derive pleasure from them and some understanding, as I have done.

1. New Delhi, 9 January 1949. Preface written for *This My People*, (Delhi, 1989), by Madanjeet Singh.

## 2. Calcutta Port Haj Committee<sup>1</sup>

I attach a letter<sup>2</sup> from Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy about the Calcutta Port Haj Committee, together with other papers. While I think that the decision we have taken is on the whole justified,<sup>3</sup> I am prepared to revise it to some extent chiefly for psychological reasons and to promote better relations.

I rather doubt if any sailing from Calcutta can be arranged by us for the Haj. I suppose if some private arrangement is made, we need have no objection.

We might consider, however, some temporary grant for a year to the Calcutta Committee. The old Committee apparently has faded away. Perhaps a small committee might be appointed. I should like you to think about this matter and discuss it with me on my return from Calcutta. Meanwhile, you might send a brief acknowledgement to Mr. Suhrawardy.

1. Note on Calcutta Port Haj Committee, 11 January 1949. File No. 21-58/48., M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. In his letter of 7 January Suhrawardy requested Nehru to reconstitute the Calcutta Port Haj Committee, to reopen Calcutta for Haj pilgrim traffic for 1949, and to make a suitable grant-in-aid to the Committee for the welfare of pilgrims sailing from Calcutta.
3. The Government had decided to abolish the Port Haj Committee at Calcutta set up in 1932, on grounds of maladministration. The number of pilgrims from West Bengal for Haj was too small and it was more expensive to sail from Calcutta than from Bombay.

## 3. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram No. 2325 dated 13th November.<sup>2</sup> Reparations. I could not send you an answer earlier as the matter required examination in this Ministry and also discussion with Ministry of Commerce.

1. New Delhi, 21 January 1949. File No. 4 (2)-Eur/49, M.E.A. & C.R., N.A.I.
2. Krishna Menon protested against the transfer of the reparations work from him to N.R. Pillai, Commissioner General in Europe, since he considered "reparations to be a part of the European settlement, a political and diplomatic matter concerned with the Foreign Ministers' Conference" at which he was the delegate of the Government of India.



2. Since India's share of reparations has already been fixed, it is unlikely that any question of major political importance will arise hereafter.<sup>3</sup> Bulk of the work would relate to procurement of items of machinery, etc. This would now be left to the recently appointed Commissioner General in Paris.<sup>4</sup> If any political questions arise, he will report to us and also send copies of these reports to you. On receipt of reports, we shall decide whether they should be dealt with by you through Foreign Office in London or otherwise. As regards shipping of reparations from Germany to India and other matters of detail, the help of the High Commissioner in London may have to be sought, but these matters should easily be adjusted in personal discussion between Pillai and you.
3. In view of the functions which the Reparations Adviser has now to perform we consider that his headquarters should be in Brussels.<sup>5</sup>
4. Instructions are being issued to Pillai on lines of this telegram.
3. India's quota of German War Reparations as decided by the Inter-Allied Reparations Conference in Paris in December 1945 was 2.00%. This included industrial equipment, capital equipment together with merchant ships and inland water transport, and other forms of reparations.
4. On 4 October 1948, N.R. Pillai took over as Commissioner General for Commercial and Economic Affairs in Europe.
5. Krishna Menon had objected to this transfer to Brussels as he was still officially the delegate of the Government of India at the Conference.

#### 4. Consideration for Staff<sup>1</sup>

Our High Commissioner in Pakistan<sup>2</sup> has started a practice of providing some tea and biscuits etc. to the chauffeurs who come during official functions such as dinners and other parties. These poor chauffeurs have to sit for hours outside in the cold while their masters are feeding and drinking inside. I think the idea is a good one. Could you suggest it to Government House? It should also be applied of course to my house.

Nothing elaborate is necessary, only some simple arrangement for tea and biscuits. If this succeeds in Government House and my house, the practice might be extended to other parties and functions of an official character, wherever possible.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 24 January 1949. File No. 2 (34)/49-PMS.
2. Sri Prakasa,

5. To Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
24 January 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

You will remember writing to me regarding presents received by V.P. Menon's daughter from the Ruling Princes.<sup>2</sup> You suggested that V.P. might be authorized to retain all presents less than Rs. 1000/- in value and the rest he may be asked to deliver to Government.

I agree with you that it would be desirable for some of the very expensive presents to be returned or delivered to Government. I consulted Rajaji also in this matter and he suggested that perhaps a more graceful way of doing this would be not for us to fix any figure but to suggest to V.P. Menon himself to take the necessary action. That is to say that we might write to V.P. that in view of the circumstances etc., he might himself deliver to Government such of the presents as are more valuable or have not come from intimate personal friends. This is rather a vague way of putting it, but is perhaps a more graceful way. The result will be much the same. The other presents of less value may be permitted to be kept by his daughter.

I would have preferred the return of those presents to these who gave them. But V.P. thinks that might be discourteous, if he did so. Perhaps on these presents being received by Government, we might informally ask the donors if we can return their presents to them, explaining the circumstances to them. If they are not agreeable to taking them back, then we can keep them with Government.

As for a statement to be issued to the public, I am perfectly prepared to issue it. I am rather inclined to think, however, that a formal statement need not be made. It is, I think, generally believed, and some such note has appeared in the Hindi papers also, that at the instance of Government V.P. Menon has returned many of the presents. If it is considered necessary to issue some statement, a small press note might be issued later.

I think that we should revise these rules about presents and make them much more precise, so as to avoid any difficulty in future.

I am returning the papers.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. On the occasion of the wedding of V.P. Menon's daughter, 26 princes and rulers of States gave presents, of which many were rumoured to be very expensive. See also, *post*, letter to Vallabhbhai Patel, 4 February 1949.

## 6. On Sarat Bose's Allegations<sup>1</sup>

I have received your letter of the 24th January.<sup>2</sup> I have referred it to the Ministry of External Affairs who will no doubt deal with it.

There are only two matters to which I need refer here. One is your statement that Lord Mountbatten is guiding the Government of India. This, to my knowledge, is completely untrue and is unfair both to the Government of India and to Lord Mountbatten. Lord Mountbatten has not tried to influence the Government of India in the slightest degree ever since he left, nor has any other person in England done so. Secondly, your reference to Kashmir appears to be singularly ill-informed and irresponsible. I am told that it has been greatly appreciated by the opponents of the Government of India and the Kashmir Government.

It would appear that in your desire to criticize the Government of India you do not consider whether you injure the cause of India or not.

1. Letter drafted by Nehru for Rajagopalachari in reply to a letter by Sarat Bose dated 24 January 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. See *ante*, p. 378.

## 7. To Kalidas Nag<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
27 January 1949

My dear Dr. Nag,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 21st January. Thank you also for the book you have sent. I remember receiving your books on *New Asia* and *India and the Pacific World* long ago.

I am sorry I cannot give you any list of books on history which have particularly influenced me. My subjects at college were scientific ones and history was just a hobby which I developed subsequently, chiefly in

1. File No. 9/23/49-PMS.
2. (1892-1966); lecturer, Calcutta University, 1923; travelled with Tagore to China; General Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1924-46; nominated member of Rajya Sabha, 1952; publications include translation of Tagore in French; *Art and Archaeology Abroad* and *Tagore and Gandhi*.



prison. In prison one gets odd books. My reading was thus fairly extensive, but not very well arranged. I am seldom interested in precise and detailed history of any particular period. What attracted me were surveys of historical periods. Of course, I read long ago Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* and enjoyed it. H.G. Wells'.<sup>3</sup> *Outline* was also helpful. For the rest my books contain some references to books that I have read.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. (1866-1946); English novelist, sociologist and reformer; member of the Fabian Society; works include *The Time Machine* (1895), *Country of the Blind* (1911), *An Outline of History* (1920), *A Short History of the World* (1922). *The Shape of Things to Come* (1933),

## 8. Repair of Khwaja Nizamuddin Dargah<sup>1</sup>

Sometime back I wrote a note for the WMP Ministry suggesting that immediate repairs should be undertaken in the Khwaja Nizamuddin Dargah<sup>2</sup> near Delhi. This Dargah was damaged during the riots in Delhi in September 1947. Mahatma Gandhi took a special interest in it and actually visited it a few days before his death.<sup>3</sup> He expressed his opinion publicly that Government must undertake these repairs immediately. As nothing was done for many months afterwards, I wrote to WMP Ministry and suggested that the matter should be taken in hand immediately, even though it might take time to complete. Will you please find out how matters stand now?

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 30 January 1949. J.N. Collection.
2. Dargah of a Sufi saint situated in Nizamuddin, New Delhi, and considered as one of the most sacred places of pilgrimage in India. Its marble masonry represents the continuous effort of six centuries.
3. Gandhi visited this Dargah on 27 January 1948.

## 9. To Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 4, 1949

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of the 3rd February about the presents received on the occasion of V.P. Menon's daughter's wedding.<sup>2</sup>

I agree that the press communique<sup>3</sup> (copy of which is returned herewith) might be issued and that you may write to the individual Rulers concerned.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. See *ante*, Nehru to Patel, 24 January 1949.
3. A press communique was issued by the Ministry of States on 11 February 1949 stating that all but a few of the presents, had been handed over by V.P. Menon to the Government for return to the respective donors, if possible, or to be kept by the Government.

## 10. Coverage of Ministers in Media<sup>1</sup>

I attach two press cuttings which are just examples of other similar criticisms.

2. Criticisms of broadcasts from AIR take the line that the vocabulary used is unintelligible to many who thought they knew the language. Also that the music is not as varied as it should be. I have often heard people tell me that they listen to BBC and Pakistan Radio for the music.
3. So far as the language is concerned, I know that there has been a great deal of argument about it and it is a difficult matter to determine or to satisfy all concerned. But it is to be considered that a considerable number of people in Northern India, in East Punjab, etc., including people in our refugee camps, who are mostly Punjabis or Sindhis, find it difficult to follow AIR broadcasts and have recourse to Pakistan Radio with unfortunate results as this rather frightens them. This applies to Kashmir too where Pakistan accounts are not a cheerful hearing.

1. Note to the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 11 February 1949. J.N. Collection.

4. I think the criticism made that Ministers' speeches are given too much importance in broadcasts is also justified. Actual facts are not dealt with the same extent. Thus it is much more important to give some details of the Ganga-Khadar scheme<sup>2</sup> than merely to report what I said in a speech there. I think that a special effort should be made to give accounts of the constructive activities of the nation in a popular way. Material may be obtained from the respective Ministries. This should include refugee schemes, river valley developments, Grow More Food campaigns and schemes like Ganga Khadar one. I have already laid stress, in another connection, on documentary films for educational purposes. In fact both the documentary films and radio should be utilized for educational purposes so that a little more is done.

5. One other small matter. Our photographers take excellent pictures and take them in abundance, but they are always concentrating on some individual. Usually I am the victim or some other Minister. I have no objection to being the victim. But as I have often pointed out to the photographers, this is not good enough. Apart from the ceaseless repetition of the same person's picture, it must appear to many to be a rather crude way of advertising Ministers and the like. Pictures should be taken of events, of the work done, or crowds occasionally and not of the Prime Minister shaking hands with somebody. In fact, they should represent social undertakings and social activities. The PM or some other Minister may sometimes come in the corner of a picture.

1. *See ante*, p. 43.



14

MISCELLANEOUS

II. Personal



## 1. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
21st December 1948

My dear Krishna,

Your letter about Walsh<sup>2</sup> wanting to publish some papers and speeches of mine.<sup>3</sup> Of course you are in charge of it and you will do as you think best. I do not want Walsh to have any kind of copyright in this matter which will prevent its publication elsewhere. Certainly you should do the editing.

I might mention that there are two or three books in the market here containing my speeches and other odd papers. Nobody asked my permission for them; they are very badly got up with no editing and usually taken from newspapers. In fact I have seen them for the first time on the bookstalls. I do not know what I can do about them.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. Richard J. Walsh.
3. On 16 December 1948, Krishna Menon suggested to Nehru that he should do the editing and compiling of Nehru's writings.

## 2. To K.C. Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 29, 1948

My dear Reddy,

This is to thank you for all the trouble you took during my visit to Bangalore and Mysore.<sup>2</sup> I enjoyed that visit greatly and profited by it.

About the name for the tusker elephant, I have consulted Rajaji, our Governor General. I thought he would be able to help suitably. The name he fancies most begins with an "N"—he thinks that if my name has anything to do with it, N might as well be taken as the first letter. He suggests Nagaraj. I understand that Nagaraj is a common Sanskrit word for elephant.

If "J" is to be the first letter, Jayamangal is suggested as a name. This was actually the name of a famous elephant.

I would prefer Nagaraj.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Nehru visited Bangalore and Mysore on 27 and 28 of December 1948.



### 3. Gardens for Children<sup>1</sup>

It will give me much pleasure if the gardens attached to my house are used by school children of Delhi in the afternoons, except on such occasions as there might be a party or some reception in the House. Please inform the Chief Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner of Delhi or any other appropriate authority, to inform the various schools of Delhi that they can send their children, boys and girls, on any afternoon to my gardens. If they do so, they might send some previous intimation by telephone.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 31 December 1948. J.N. Collection.

### 4. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
6 January 1949

My dear Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter of January 5.<sup>2</sup> The cheque came unexpectedly. I did not want you to pay, but since you have sent it, I suppose I had better keep it.

Tara's wedding was meant to be a quiet affair and no one from outside Allahabad was therefore invited. Even in Allahabad we tried to limit it, though not with too great success. Apart from our desire to have a quiet wedding, we also wanted not to encourage presents being made. This business of giving gifts has become quite an imposition and I think something should be done to check it. Gifts are welcome from close friends, but others are forced by circumstances to send gifts on such occasions. Bhalji\* came to Allahabad and I remember his presenting some gifts.

About Kashmir, I am afraid Pakistan is indulging in wishful thinking. I rather doubt if ultimately a plebiscite will take place because of the many difficulties in the way. If it does take place, I think it will be in our favour.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Sri Prakasa complained of not having been invited to the wedding of Nayantara, second daughter of Vijayalakshmi Pandit, on 2 January at Anand Bhawan. He also wished to reimburse Nehru for the shawl Nehru had bought for him.
3. Chandra Bhalji, a Congressman from Uttar Pradesh and brother of Sri Prakasa.

You have known me long enough to realize that I am a good showman. It is not that I work very hard, but that I produce an impression of doing so.

We shall certainly have you here again before very long. There are likely to be many developments in the near future.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To Frances Gunther<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 7, 1949

My dear Frances,

Some little time ago I received your two letters dated November 28th and 29th. It is always good to hear from you.

I also received Stuart Chase's<sup>2</sup> new book, *The Proper Study of Mankind*. I have not yet had time to read it, but I certainly propose to do so as the subject interests me greatly. I sent a brief letter of thanks to him. I hope he received it.

I do not think that Indira has received the papers you say you are sending to her. At any rate she had not received them till a little time ago.

About Israel, I quite appreciate your feeling in the matter. I wish you would appreciate our position too. We have gone some way in the direction you suggest.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (1888-1985); well known American writer whose works include *Men and Machines* (1929); *A New Deal* (1932); *The Economy of Abundance* (1934); *The Tyranny of Words* (1938); *The Proper Study of Mankind* (1948).

## 6. To Lady Hydari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 10, 1949

My dear Lady Hydari,<sup>2</sup>  
Thank you for your letter.

I sent you a brief telegram,<sup>3</sup> but that could hardly express what I felt. It has indeed been a very great shock and sorrow to all of us. Apart from personal reasons, the public aspect of it was most important. Your husband<sup>4</sup> had done remarkably well in a difficult position and because of him we felt quite confident about Assam. You are quite right in saying that there is such a tremendous lot to do and really so few good people to do it.

Thank you for your offer to do something during your stay in England. I do not know if I can suggest anything at present. I hope you will not hesitate to write to me, if you think I can be of any help.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Widow of Akbar Hydari.
3. In his message to Lady Hydari on 30 December Nehru expressed great sorrow at the sudden death of Sir Akbar Hydari on a tour in Manipur on 29 December 1948.
4. Sir Akbar Hydari (1894-1948); joined I.C.S. in 1920; Secretary to the Government of India, 1934-45; Governor of Assam from 1948 till his death.

## 7. To A.M. Khwaja<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 16, 1949

My dear Khwaja,  
Thank you for your two letters. I am sorry to notice that you still jump to conclusions without finding out the data.

We decided, for obvious reasons, to have a quiet wedding for Tara at Allahabad and not to invite any one from outside. We specially went to Allahabad from Delhi for this purpose. Because of this, no one was invited from outside, though a few persons nevertheless turned up. The whole thing was a simple and quick affair.

1. A.M. Khwaja Papers, N.M.M.L.



I am sorry that you should have been hurt, but really there was no reason for this. The suggestion not to invite people was entirely mine. I wanted to set a good example. I think we make too much of weddings and sometimes they become a public nuisance and an imposition.

As for the party on the 19th, please note that it is to be held on the 20th afternoon now and not on the 19th.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. Government House Garden for Children<sup>1</sup>

I was asked by some children in my house whether they could see the Government House garden. I said that there should be no difficulty. I suggest that, if His Excellency agrees, some facilities might be offered to school children to visit the Government House garden. As to when and how this should be done is entirely a matter for the Government House staff to arrange. However, it would be a good thing for the garden to be opened to the public on regular days or once a week on a Sunday or some other day. Some such practice had begun to grow up in Lord Mountbatten's time. It is for His Excellency the Governor General to decide what should be done.

1. Note to Colonel B. Chatterjee, Military Secretary to the Governor General, 4 February 1949, File No. 2 (332)/49-PMS.



MISCELLANEOUS

III. Personalities





## 1. Tej Bahadur Sapru<sup>1</sup>

Babuji's passing away<sup>2</sup> after a long illness means an ending of the pain and suffering which he had been going through, and yet it is a shock and we feel very sad at the death of one of the great Indians of our generations to whom we had so often looked for advice and guidance. Personally, it is a great sorrow to me for he had always given me his affection in abundant measure and it was always a joy to meet him. For our own city of Allahabad it is even greater loss, and Allahabad without him will be very empty for innumerable persons. His passing away means the ending of a generation and a period in India at a moment when we are in the midst of great transitions and problems. His memory will be cherished for long not only by his innumerable friends but by the whole country.

1. Message on the death of Tej Bahadur Sapru, 21 January 1949. *National Herald*, 22 January 1949.
2. Tej Bahadur Sapru died on 20 January 1949.

## 2. Subhas Chandra Bose<sup>1</sup>

I should like to associate myself with the observance of the anniversary of the birthday of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, and to pay my homage on this occasion to an old comrade and a great son of India. Filled with a consuming fire to free his country, he devoted himself to India's service utterly without caring for any consequence. Above all, he became a symbol of Indian unity. It is well to remember this more especially today, when forces of disruption seek to weaken that unity. It is only by mutual tolerance and by working ceaselessly for Indian unity that we can build up a strong and prosperous nation.

1. Message on the occasion of celebration of Subhas Chandra Bose's birthday in New Delhi. 23 January 1949. J.N. Supplementary Papers, N.M.M.L.

### 3. Tej Bahadur Sapru and Akbar Hydari<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, by your leave, may I refer to the passing away, since this House last met, of some eminent members of this House and the Assembly, that preceded it. Among those who have passed away are Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Akbar Hydari, Sri G.A. Natesan of Madras,<sup>2</sup> Mr. M. Shafi Daudi of Bihar, Mr. Velliangiri Gounder<sup>3</sup> of Madras and Mr. Abdul Matin Chaudhuri<sup>4</sup> of Assam.

In particular, may I say a few words more about a very distinguished son of India, Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, who was probably known well to almost every individual member of this House. Because he is so well known and because he was so well liked and loved by all of us, it is not necessary for me to recount the long tale of his activities in the public service. It is a long and distinguished record, a record of a great lawyer, of a great scholar and a great friend, a record of a man who throughout his life, so far as I know and I can remember, hardly ever made any enemies; who, in spite of coming into conflict on the political plane with many of us and many others, always retained our love and affection. And so we have this man of high integrity, of high character, representing something that unfortunately is not so evident, representing a certain gentleness of manner in public life as well as in private life which endeared him to all.

His death means the passing away not only of a man of great ability, a man who has served the country greatly, a man who was loved by a very large number of persons and a man who will be missed as a friend by vast numbers in this country; it is something more than the passing away of an individual; it is almost the passing away of a generation that he represented, and some of us who belong to that generation to some extent must necessarily feel sad at his passing away as we feel sad when anything to which we have been greatly attached passes away.

We have been passing through, in this country, great changes and from day to day other changes come. No doubt many of the changes are for the

1. Speech at Constituent Assembly, 1 February 1949. *Constituent Assembly of India (Legislative) Debates, Official Report*, Vol. I, Part II, 1949, pp. 1-3.
2. (1873-1949); founder of a publishing firm and Editor of *The Indian Review*; Member of Council of State, 1923-33.
3. V.C. Velliangiri Gounder, one of the largest landholders in the Coimbatore district, elected to the Council of State, 1932.
4. (1895-1948); prominent member of the Muslim League; elected to Central Legislature, 1937.



good; but also, perhaps, some of the changes are not so good and anything that takes away from the graciousness of life surely cannot be for the good. There is a tendency today and there has been, perhaps, owing to hard facts and conflicts of existence, for that graciousness to disappear from our public life, and even perhaps, to some extent, from our private lives. I feel sad when I think of this, because, after all, life may be a continuous struggle and a conflict, nevertheless, if there is no graciousness left in it, then, one wonders what the conflict aims at, what kind of good life is our objective. So, when a person like Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru passes away, who represented in ample measure that graciousness in life which somehow bypassed conflicts and everything and won for him the goodwill of all, we feel sadder than even otherwise.

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru represented peculiarly that mixed culture which has arisen in Northern India during the last many generations. What is going to happen to it in the future, I do not know, because there are attacks on it from various sides. But, whatever one may feel about the merit of a particular question, I do submit to this House that any culture of any type is always a rich possession and a desirable thing to have. It enriches a nation. Undoubtedly the type of a culture that Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru particularly represented enriched, and would enrich any country that possessed it. So, in saying a few words about Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru, while I feel sad at the passing of a very dear friend, I feel almost sadder still at the passing of a generation which had much good in it, though it may also have had much that was essential to be put an end to.

May I also say a few words about a very distinguished public servant, Mr. Akbar Hydari. As the House knows, he was functioning as the Governor of Assam, after a long career of public service in other fields. He was there before the present Government came into power. He was appointed nearly about two years or more ago. We had come into close contact with him during this period and I express not my own opinion only, but the unanimous opinion of my Government that we could not have had an abler public servant. A man not only of high ability, high integrity and high efficiency, he had to deal with a province which has peculiar problems of its own, which has been even in the past a frontier province which is much more so today, and where the problems that arise are not only the common problems of an Indian province or many of them, but peculiar problems which require extreme care. Mr. Akbar Hydari faced these problems with tact and ability. He was of great assistance to the Provincial Ministry and his death was really a great blow, apart from the personal aspect, from the public aspect, a great blow not only to the Government of Assam, but to the Government of India.

I am sure this House would like to convey its sorrow and regret to Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru's family, Mr. Akbar Hydari's family, and the families of the other gentlemen whose names I have mentioned.

#### 4. Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>

The township and other institutions around are a testimony as to what constructive effort can achieve. I am happy that the township is named after a distinguished son of India, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.<sup>2</sup>

The whole of India has a claim on him and he belonged to all India. Yet he was born very near Vallabh Vidyanagar, whose foundation I have just laid. And being the Sardar's birth place, people near about have the right to honour him by creating this town and building up these institutions which will enrich the country.<sup>3</sup>

It was my desire to visit Gujarat earlier. But I had no opportunity. Now I am on a pilgrimage to this place. I deeply regret the scarcity conditions which prevail in Gujarat.<sup>3</sup> I assure you that the Central Government would do its best to mitigate people's suffering. But, at the same time, the people must strive their utmost to help themselves and produce as much as they possibly can under the prevailing conditions.

Until the large river valley schemes<sup>4</sup> are completed, there will be shortage of food in the country. I advise the people to do their best and supplement their food requirements with alternative diets, if necessary.

1. Speech while laying the foundation stone of the Vallabh Nagar University (Gujarat) 12 February 1949. From *The Times of India*, *National Herald* and *The Hindu*, 14 February 1949.
2. The university town of Vallabhnagar was being built very near Karamsad village which was the birth place of Vallabhbhai Patel. A number of colleges and hostels were already under construction.
3. Late in 1948 the entire coastal belt of Gujarat and parts of Saurashtra and Kutch were threatened with acute famine owing to the failure of the south west monsoon and the consequent destruction of both the *Kharif* and *rabi* crops.
4. The four main development projects were the Damodar Valley Project for southern Bihar and West Bengal, the Kosi Project for northern Bihar and Nepal, the Mahanadi Project for Orissa and Central Provinces and the Narmada Tapti Project for Central Provinces and Bombay.



## 5. The Services of Vallabhbhai Patel<sup>1</sup>

My association with Sardar Patel dates back thirty years. It was not an ordinary acquaintance; we took up big tasks together, faced great dangers together during which we saw many ups and downs. You know that during the last thirty years our country has faced many ups and downs. Sometimes it seemed that the country was losing its strength and energy. But it again recuperated. During this period our country in certain matters saw many triumphs and successes but in certain matters it saw tragedies and failures also. When one goes through such experiences together with another person, both of them come to understand each other better.

Then for about three years Sardar Patel and I stayed together in the Ahmadnagar fort with some other friends and companions. For three years we were together seeing each other day and night. Now for the last two and a half years we have been associated in a different manner, in New Delhi, working in the Government of India. In this work also, almost everyday we meet each other and face big problems and solve them in cooperation with each other. You know the magnitude of the problems our nation has faced in these two and a half years. We had to face the storm raised in the Punjab and near about Delhi. So we have been through thick and thin together during these 30 years. When there is this kind of association it leads to deep understanding of each other and mutual closeness. How could it be possible otherwise?

There is a wrong suggestion in some quarters that there is lack of understanding between me and Sardar Patel. During the last three years in Delhi, as I have told you, there is hardly a day or night when I did not take counsel from him.

So I am happy that you have called me here today and entrusted this job to me and asked me to unveil this bust.

Generally I do not like the idea of statues and memorials of our big leaders being erected. I have tried to discourage the building of Mahatma Gandhi's statues also as far as possible. But despite my effort they continue to be erected. Not that I am against the building of statues and memorials but there are two reasons why I discourage this. One, that people think that by erecting statues of great men, they have done their duty towards them. This is not proper. Our duty towards them entails our

1. Speech while unveiling the statue of Vallabhbhai Patel, Godhra, 13 February 1949 A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi).



following the path shown by them and the ideals set by them. Mahatmaji also used to say to me that he did not want any statues of his to be made. He reminded us that if we respected him we should follow his teachings and the path shown by him. That is real respect, and not erecting his statue and then forgetting him and working against his message and advice.

Secondly, the statues which are generally built are not good. That is, artistically they are not of good quality. But this is not so important. The main point is that for every nation, every country, it is proper that it should remember its great people. The future generations should also remember them. Because by remembering them we also remember some of their ideals, their times and their advice, and we do start giving some thought and consideration to them.

Sardar Patel, after all, is not of Gujarat alone; he belongs to the whole of India. He has drawn the map of free India. He has had a great hand in securing the independence of India and later contributed greatly in preserving it. Still there are many great tasks ahead. So the whole of India remembers him, but in Gujarat, where he was born and where he has gained respect because of his great works, it is fitting that you should have his statue. Therefore I am very happy to perform this auspicious task.

## GLOSSARY

Akhand Hindustan	undivided India
Arahant	term used in Pali Buddhism for one who has reached final stage of spiritual progress
Asthi	ashes
Atharvaveda	one of the four Vedas
Caliph	Mohammedan, civil and religious ruler
Churidar	a pair of breeches
Dargah	tomb of a Muslim saint
Devanagari	script adopted for Hindi, Sanskrit and some other Indian languages
Dewan	assembly
Firman	command, decree, mandate
Gita	a Hindu scripture
Gurdwara	Sikh temple
Haj	pilgrimage to Mecca
Jai Hind	victory to India
Jayanti	birth anniversary
Jehad	holy war waged by Muslims
Kisan	peasant
Khwaja	Muslim mystic
Ma-bap	parents
Maha Gujarat	greater Gujarat
Maha Purush	great soul
Maidan	an expanse of ground
Mantram	sacred verse
Mela	fair or fete
Mullah	Muslim priest
Pani or Jal	water
Quaid-i-Azam	father of nation
Samasthan	jagirs held by Rajas, exempted from Nizam's jurisdiction
Sarf-e-Khas	Nizam's private land
Satyagraha	truth force
Shahi Pasand	royal liking
Sherwani	long coat
Stupa	a commemorative Buddhist monument
Swaraj	self-government





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This volume covers a crucial period of eight weeks from 20 December 1948 to 15 February 1949, during which nation-building was Nehru's major concern. Recasting the finances, setting up new industries, inculcating a scientific outlook, promoting self-sufficiency in food and suggesting changes in the food habits of people absorbed much of his attention. These went along with a general concern for educational and cultural advancement and keen interest in the development of languages.

By convening the Delhi Conference in support of Indonesia's struggle for independence from the Dutch, Nehru initiated Asian attempts at dealing with Asian problems, hitherto left with the Western Powers as "fringe" issues. Simultaneously, Nehru was engaged in securing India's entry into the Commonwealth as a republic and on terms of equality with other nations. In bilateral relations, his efforts were directed to strengthening friendship and raising India's standing in the world.

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